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Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity

THE ROLE OF POWER AND TRADITION

EDITORS

TON DERKS & NICO ROYMANS

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Ethnic identity in the Roman frontier. The epigraphy of Batavi and other Lower Rhine tribes

Ton Derks

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The Roman antiquities from the Netherlands show that the masters of the world did not live there with the same splendour and luxury as they did in neighbouring Gaul, Britain and the Rhine area. No colonies were founded on the poor heathlands and moors; no high rank official brought the magnificence and richness from the south. Remains of splendid villae, mosaic floors, marble cornices, columns and images have not been found here. The Batavian territory, too poor to produce tributes and taxes, was left to its own devices. But the sons of this unruly soil, hardened by the continuous struggle with an ungrateful nature and unfavourable climate, were fit for military service. Thus the Batavian territory was considered a breeding ground for soldiers of the Roman army (...).

Van Schevichaven 1881, i-ii
(author's translation)

I INTRODUCTION

The impact of empires on their colonial subjects is manifold and often reaches far beyond the visible material conditions of life that are the focus of much archaeological research.¹ Colonisers usually take control not just of the conquered land and its natural resources, but also of the people who inhabit it.

¹ This paper springs from a research project entitled *The Batavians: ethnic identity in a frontier situation* (360–60–000) funded by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and VU University Amsterdam. The article is the expanded text of a lecture read at the Valkhof Museum at Nijmegen in December 2004 and a

reworked version of a contribution originally published in Dutch as Derks 2004. I am grateful to the audience at Nijmegen and to Nico Roymans for their valuable comments, to Bert Brouwenstijn for drawing the maps of fig. 2 and 9, to Annette Visser for correcting my English.

Thus distinctions are made between those who control the land and those who occupy and work it. As Loren observes in a recent study on the impact of French and Spanish colonial rule in the 17th- and 18th-century American Southeast, the very demarcation and classification of the colonised constitutes an inherent part of colonisation.²

While the empire's classification of its subjects always reflects and serves its own needs and interests, redrawing the boundaries necessarily implies dividing pre-existing communities and amalgamating others; ultimately, it may even create new social categories that did not exist before while denying the existence of others. By simultaneously sanctioning certain social practices and discouraging or prohibiting others, such categorisation from above invariably has a profound effect on the self-understanding of the colonised. The post-Columbian Spanish empire in the Americas presents some nice examples of this. Whereas Spanish colonial rule focused on accommodating the *caciques*, the paramount leaders of the American Indians, by recognising their political authority, the Spanish crown also developed an elaborate, strict system of categorisation (the *régimen de castas*), which classified people by caste using a complex mix of ethnicity, phenotypic or racial characteristics, and legal status.³ Clearly, the caste system was designed to check and control the vast new colonial population of mixed-bloods, and to preserve the racial purity (*Espanidad* or 'Spanishness'), power and wealth of the coloniser. But the ultimate upshot of anchoring the imperial classification systems in everyday social practice was that the colonised largely adopted the identities imposed by colonial rule. As the net result was certainly not always advantageous to all, some colonised groups also employed a strategy of fashioning their own social identity by acting, dressing and behaving like individuals from another group, or defined themselves as different by giving themselves a new name. This strategy could be particularly helpful for those seeking to enter colonial situations from which they would normally be excluded.⁴

This paper deals with the Roman empire and the interplay between Roman imperial rule (and its projected identities) and the adopted identities of Rome's subjects. It focuses on the images and self-images of a particular tribe in the northwestern frontier of the empire, the Batavi. Since the tribal peoples on the periphery of the empire were largely illiterate (and the Batavians were no exception), modern accounts have often relied heavily on the writings of ancient authors.⁵ The written texts of classical ethnography scarcely epitomise objective, accurate description, however.⁶ It is therefore imperative that we juxtapose the stock images from Roman imperial writing – which since the Renaissance have often become our own (witness the quote at the head of this chapter) – with other source material. Inscriptions are a much neglected category of sources that offers an extraordinarily rich potential for research in this area. Inscribed monuments erected by individual members of local communities provide unparalleled access to subjective feelings of belonging even at the level of the individual.

At the heart of this paper is a systematic inventory of inscriptions that mention Batavians. A key question governing the examination of these inscriptions is to what extent the ways in which Rome's subjects are presented were their own choice (adopted identities) and to what extent they were influenced by structures of the empire in which they operated (projected identities)? In other words, what impact did the growing political integration of the Batavian community into the Roman empire have on the self-understanding of individual Batavians? When and where did they manifest themselves as an ethnic

² Loren 2005, 303.

³ Deagan 2001, 186 ff.; Loren 2005, 303 ff. According to Deagan (*ibid.*, 191), this ultimately resulted in the formal institutionalisation of racial mixtures into more than 25(!) categories, of which the mestizo, mulatto and quadroon are the best known.

⁴ Deagan 2001, 191; Loren 2005, 310, both citing Boyer 1997.

⁵ For some nice examples of the predominance of clichés in writing on the Batavians, see Roymans 1999; Ribbens 2004. Archaeological research on the Batavi did not start until the mid-20th century.

⁶ Cf. Woolf, this volume.

group and how much did that assist or impede their full integration into Roman society at large? What changes, if any, can we observe in forms of self-representation? Did the Batavi see themselves as the brave tribal warriors generally portrayed in classical ethnography? Or did they instead emphasise their status as fully-fledged members of the world community which we know as the Roman empire? And how then should we assess the Batavian case in comparison to that of their neighbours?

After broadly outlining the epigraphic evidence central to the argument in this paper (section 4), I will first discuss the social contexts of ethnicity (section 5) as well as the specific epigraphic formulae used to express affiliation (section 6). In order to avoid the pitfalls of working directly from the Batavian evidence alone, I will try to explain the emergent pattern against a background of wider developments within the frontier of the Roman Northwest, such as military recruitment and urbanisation, by constantly comparing and contrasting our case with that available for some other Lower Rhine groups. In the final section (7), I will investigate what conclusions may be drawn for the community's origin myths, which are generally thought to be crucial for the perpetuation of ethnic identity groups. But I begin this paper with a few remarks on the concept of ethnicity – concerning the correlation with material culture and the dynamics of ethnic categories – and a brief discussion of the frontier in the Roman Northwest (section 2), followed by a discussion of the possible impact of Roman army recruitment practices on the ethnicity of individual soldiers (section 3).

2 ETHNICITY AND THE ROMAN FRONTIER

Ethnicity refers to the collective identity of an *ethnos*, i.e. a tribe or people whose members subscribe to a perceived common origin. While material culture may have been instrumental in the construction of ethnic identities,⁷ the relationship between ethnicity and material culture is a complex one.⁸ Because of its strong symbolic value, material culture is by definition multivocal and capable of symbolising multiple aspects of human relationships, not just ethnicity. In contrast to earlier archaeological thinking, it is highly unlikely then that we would be able to identify items of material culture that could stand exclusively for only one particular ethnicity. Conversely, ethnicity is never expressed through a single material item. Nor are ethnic signifiers necessarily the same for all members of society: they may have gender, age and class aspects. Given this complex and arbitrary correlation between material culture and ethnicity, archaeologists will quickly become lost if trying to investigate ethnic issues without having access to additional written evidence that offers clues about where to look. It is hoped that inscriptions can help us to direct our research in the right direction.

Ethnicity is first of all about people's *perceptions* of their roots, or to quote a more scholarly definition by a Dutch anthropologist, 'ethnicity is a discursive, *subjective* construction of group difference'.⁹ This is not to say that ethnicity is simply bipolar. If ethnic categorisations are ethnocentric by default, group difference is located on both sides of the boundary between 'us' and 'them'. In other words, depending on the scale of observation, we may identify a hierarchy and a conglomerate of groups with graduated differences in familiarity and foreignness. Regardless of how well or poorly a group had integrated materially into the wider context of the empire, what mattered was how it defined its position symbolically. Origin myths and collective rituals are important concrete expressions of such symbolic thinking.

Although ethnic groups generally present themselves as bounded entities that never change, in reality they are shown to be dynamic and subject to change. History has revealed numerous examples of how

⁷ Cf. Loren 2005.

⁹ Abbink 2001, 14.

⁸ Generally, Hodder 1982; Jones 1997; for an early case study from Roman archaeology, Grahame 1998.

ethnogenesis processes and the dissolution of ethnic groups have transformed the ethnographic map of Europe over time. Two observations can be made about these processes of change: 1) the main driving force behind most modifications to the ethnographic map are changing configurations of power, and 2) if ethnic identity groups show significant changes, it would appear obvious that the binding factors of origin myths and collective rituals also change.

Frontiers are one geographical and socio-political context where ethnicity may be particularly relevant.¹⁰ Located on the periphery of nation states or empires, frontiers are best described as broad zones of interaction between an intrusive power and the indigenous tribes within its sphere of influence. Frontiers are not stable, but move with the expansion of empires. On the northwestern periphery of the Roman empire, we can identify four stages in the development of the frontier.

From Caesar's Gallic war until the Augustan administrative reorganisation concluded by the foundation of the federal altar of the Tres Galliae at Lyon in 12 BC, the northern frontier of the Roman empire comprised the entire area between the province of Gallia Narbonensis and the river Rhine. After the incorporation of Comatian Gaul into the empire's provincially organised core, the frontier shifted further to the north. From the beginning of the Germanic campaigns in 12 BC until the foundation of the two Germanic provinces under Domitian, it covered large areas on both sides of the Rhine, stretching from the military districts of Belgic Gaul across the Rhine far into Germany, where for the time being the river Elbe embodied the new symbolic boundary of the inhabited world. It was this shift in the main area of military operations that first put the spotlight on the Lower Rhine area, thereby producing the earliest historical records of the Batavians.¹¹ After the transformation of the military districts of Belgic Gaul into the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany around AD 84, the frontier comprised the area of the client tribes of 'Great Germany' north and east of the Rhine.¹² With the establishment of the Gallic empire in the third quarter of the 3rd century, the Lower Rhine and adjacent areas reverted to their frontier status, which they retained until the fall of the western empire in the early 5th century.¹³

As we saw in the introduction to this paper, the intervention of imperial powers in the frontier regions of their empires often reinforces some existing ethnic groups while at the same time creating new ethnic categories and disrupting others. Roman measures which may have been relevant in this respect were the annihilation, division or relocation of certain tribes, the targeting of tribal groups for ethnic soldiering, the settlement of veteran colonies, the creation of new political administrative centres, and the granting of municipal rights and citizenship. Of course, not all frontier peoples were affected by such measures in the same way or to the same degree. The Batavi, for instance, after splitting off from the Chatti on the Middle Rhine, were relocated in the heart of the Lower Rhine frontier. By virtue of a treaty with Rome they were exempt from capital and property taxes,¹⁴ but were exploited all the more for large-scale conscription: with eight *cohortes* of 500 men (replaced by four *cohortes milliariae* in the early 2nd century), one *ala* and many soldiers for the imperial horse guard and the German fleet, the Batavi were among the principal suppliers of manpower to the Roman army.¹⁵ As the vast majority of the epigraphically known Batavians appear to have been auxiliary soldiers, it may be useful to examine in more detail the potential impact of Roman recruitment practices for the auxilia on the construction of ethnic identity.

¹⁰ Barth 1969; Eriksen 1993; Chappell 1993; Rodseth/Parker 2005.

¹¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.8 and 2.11.

¹² For the term, Alföldy 1997.

¹³ Cf. Willems 1984, 272 ff (chapter 12).

¹⁴ Tacitus, *Germ.* 29.

¹⁵ For the concept of ethnic soldiering, Van Driel-Murray 2005; for the Batavian *auxilia*, Strobel 1987; Roymans 1996, 20 ff, 84 ff; idem 2004, 3 f., 222 ff; Van Rossum 2004; for Batavians in the Germanic fleet, Tacitus, *Hist.*, 4.16.

3 ETHNIC IDENTITY AND RECRUITMENT FOR THE ROMAN AUXILIA

Long-term service in the Roman army inevitably left its mark on individual soldiers, especially on those who served in the auxilia. Many Roman army auxiliaries adopted a new name upon enrolment, and whether this was a Latinised version of their original native name or a completely new Latin or Greek name, to most men it meant adopting a partly new personal identity and a serious break with the past.¹⁶ The challenge of learning to understand, speak and perhaps even write the new language of power, as well as deployment in the remotest parts of the world among peoples who they had not even heard of until a short time previously, will certainly also have had an impact on the soldiers' self-image. While this may be relatively easy to understand, less comprehensible perhaps is the idea that service in the Roman army may have affected the soldier's ethnicity. This has everything to do with Roman recruitment practices and the army bureaucracy.

In contrast to the legions, most Roman army auxilia were levied from a single tribe. This was generally one of Rome's peace conditions stipulated in a treaty that left responsibility for the levy itself to tribal leaders.¹⁷ These units were referred to by the ethnic names, possibly preceded by a serial number, of the peoples from which they were conscripted. For our purposes, it is important to realise that, provided the tribal leaders recruited enough men, it will have been of little interest to the Roman authorities whether the men serving in these units did in fact belong to the ethnic group that gave the unit its name. For any recruits from other ethnic groups, however, this arrangement meant that for the remainder of their military career they were entered in the Roman army records as ethnic members of the tribe from which the unit, according to its name, had been recruited. This phenomenon will no doubt have occurred among the Batavian auxiliaries as well. In fact, recent demographic calculations show that Batavian society was too small to satisfy on its own the annual demand for the new recruits needed to maintain the eight Batavian cohorts and the *Ala Batavorum*. We must therefore conclude that there were scores of recruits from other groups, perhaps from Batavian client tribes, among the auxiliary soldiers listed as 'Batavian' in the army records.¹⁸ For these men, the benefits of gaining access to a military career more than made up for the incidental masking or sublimation of their own individual ethnic identity in favour of another collective ethnic identity linked to their unit.

If the ethnic units were nominally homogeneous at the time of recruitment, most would have lost their real or supposed homogeneity soon afterwards. In general, new recruits needed to fill the gaps left by dead or retired soldiers were no longer conscripted from the eponymous tribe from which they were initially recruited, but from the province where the unit happened to be garrisoned. There has been extensive discussion as to whether the Batavi, for reasons of their particular qualities as soldiers, were excluded from this trend toward local recruitment. I agree with Van Rossum that, despite the Batavian background of some of their commanders, ethnic recruitment for the Batavian auxilia ended in all probability some time in the early 2nd century.¹⁹ As long as troops were regularly moved, this resulted in quite mixed units, but once they started staying longer in the same garrison, from the Hadrianic period

¹⁶ Striking here are the Greek names adopted by soldiers figuring in the Vindolanda tablets (Birley 2001) and by Batavian members of the pre-Flavian horse guard in Rome. In the latter case, the choice may reflect conformity to onomastic conventions among slaves in the imperial service.

¹⁷ Wolters 1990, 109 ff., esp. 111 and 126 ff. Cf. also Alföldy 1968, 111 ff., esp. 116.

¹⁸ Van Rossum 2004, esp. 125, who draws this conclusion for the 2nd-century situation; to my mind, the same argument could be put forward for the 1st century. Cf. also Roymans 2004, 207 f., who reaches the same conclusion with regard to pre-Flavian recruitment but by a different route.

¹⁹ Van Rossum 2004, with the older literature. For ethnic recruitment in the late 1st, early 2nd century, cf. appendix B 19, B 25–26 and B 28.

onwards, the upshot was that units named after tribe x predominantly comprised soldiers from tribe y. Although the army continued to record the ethnic background of each individual soldier, this practice may have led to some ambiguity as to how these auxiliaries should categorise themselves collectively, as soldiers from tribe x or y. We will see an example of this in section 5.²⁰

The phenomenon of different categorisation scales leading to hierarchically overlapping identity groups is also apparent from evidence for Roman army recruitment. In addition to the ethnic units discussed above, the Roman auxilia also contained units recruited from several tribes and named after the group that served as the umbrella group, usually a province (e.g. Thracians, Raeti), but sometimes several provinces or a larger geographical area (e.g. Galli, Germani). For instance, the cohortes Gallorum – unlike the ethnic units levied from individual tribes in Belgic Gaul – consisted of volunteers conscripted from a range of tribes in the Tres Galliae. Similarly, the cohortes Germanorum were recruited from a series of tribes on both sides of the Rhine, in what the Romans called Great Germany, again inasmuch as they were not targeted for ethnic soldiering. Finally, we can say that to both Flavius Josephus and Suetonius the 1st-century imperial horse guard consisted of Germani.²¹ Interestingly, inscriptions from Britain and Rome suggest that these macro-categories existed not only within Roman army bureaucracy, but were also meaningful among the tribal people themselves. In contexts where soldiers from different tribes of the Lower Rhine frontier communicated with each other – Coventina’s well at Carrawburgh is a case in point – some presented themselves as *Germanus*, and in Rome the association uniting members of the Claudio-Neronian horse guard was called *collegium Germanorum* (fig. 1).²²

The predominance of Batavi in the imperial body guard of both the *Germani corporis custodes* and the *equites singulares Augusti* gave rise to a colloquial designation of the unit as a Batavian one. Suetonius tells us that Caligula received a divine warning in the sanctuary at the source of the river Clitumnus in Central Italy to supply the *numerus Batavorum* of his bodyguard with new recruits.²³ In his report of Hadrian’s military inspections, Dio speaks of the ‘so-called Batavian cavalry’ in the emperor’s retinue crossing the river Danube,²⁴ and a bilingual inscription on a tombstone from Anazarbus, Cilicia, in present-day Turkey, refers to the deceased – described in the Latin text as *eques singularis* – as ἰππεύς νομέου Βατάων in Greek.²⁵ Even if in the early 3rd century the Batavian guard still dominated the horse guard to such an extent that their tribal name could become emblematic for the whole unit, other inscriptions prove that the unit still contained a substantial number of men from other parts of the empire, especially Pannonia.²⁶

Finally, mention should be made of the differential recording of the auxiliary’s home in Roman army rosters and official documents such as military diplomas. According to Speidel, the way in which a soldier’s home was recorded (province, tribe or town) varied according to where he came from and where he was sent to serve.²⁷ Whereas an auxiliary soldier’s native province was only given if he was sent abroad as a recruit, his tribe or town was stated if he had enrolled in a unit stationed or raised in his own province (local recruitment). There are two exceptions to this rule: 1) even when sent outside their home province, soldiers from Spain, Gaul and Germany were nearly always designated by their tribe or home town, probably because in these cases the terms Hispanus, Gallus or Germanus were ambiguous as to precisely which province they referred to,²⁸ and 2) auxiliarii who enrolled as Roman citizens retained

²⁰ Cf. notes 68–69 below.

²¹ Ios., *ant. Iud.* 19.1.15 (§ 119) on Caligula’s guard; Suet., *Cal.* 47; *Gal.* 12; Speidel 1984.

²² Clay 2008; Derks 2004, 57 ff. Cf. also note 28 below.

²³ Suet., *Cal.* 43.

²⁴ Dio 69, 9; cf. also *CIL* III 3676; Speidel 1991.

²⁵ ESA 688. Cf. also ESA 688 c–d, in which the unit is

designated as *numerus Bataonum* and *numerus e{x}quitum Batavonum*.

²⁶ Cf. ESA 657, 688a, 688c–d, 732.

²⁷ Speidel 1986. Once settled, it remained unchanged for the entire term of service.

²⁸ There are a few examples of *Germani corporis custodes* and *equites singulares Augusti* designated as Germani, e.g. Bel-



Fig. 1. Two inscribed funerary monuments from the cemetery of the *collegium Germanorum* at the Via Portuense in Rome, erected by members of the Germanic bodyguard (*Germani corporis custodes*) in commemoration of deceased fellow guardians of different Germanic backgrounds, Fannius (left) being of Ubian, and Indus (right) of Batavian descent. Rome, Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano (author's photographs).

Fannius / Neron(is) Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corpor(is) custos / dec(uria) Cotini / nation(e) Ubius / vixit ann(os) XIIIX. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Posuit Corinthus / dec(uria) aedem heres eius / ex colleg(io) German(orum) (AE 1952, 145 = Bellen A 12).

Indus / Neronis Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corpor(is) custos / dec(uria) Secundi / natione Batavus / vix(it) ann(os) XXXVI. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Posuit / Eumenes frater / et heres eius ex collegio / Germanorum (AE 1952, 148 = Bellen A 15).

their towns as their home even when sent abroad immediately upon enlistment. The best illustration of the impact of official recording on how individual soldiers presented themselves on private altars or epitaphs is the fact that, from Augustus to Trajan, we do not encounter a single exception to the above rule among the 173 stone inscriptions of the *auxilia*!²⁹

len B 7-8; ESA 378, 446, 558; cf. also ESA 356.

Holder 1980.

²⁹ Speidel 1986, 475, using the evidence collected by

Despite the relatively abundant epigraphic evidence for the Batavi compared to some other peoples in the northwestern frontier of the empire,³⁰ no up-to-date collection was available when this study began. The first catalogue of inscriptions was drawn up more than a century ago by the Dutch cultural historian, publicist and future municipal archivist of Nijmegen, Herman Van Schevichaven. In his booklet entitled *Epigraphie der Bataafsche Krijgslieden in de Romeinsche Legers* (Epigraphy of Batavian warriors in the Roman armies), written in Rome and Algiers and published in 1881, Van Schevichaven was able to gather some 50 inscriptions from findspots as far apart as Nijmegen, Lyon and Rome.³¹ The first collection after Van Schevichaven's and the only systematic one is presented in Byvanck's three-volume *Excerpta Romana*, a monumental survey of historical, epigraphic and archaeological sources for the Roman Netherlands. The second volume in the series, published in 1935 and entirely devoted to epigraphic evidence, contained all Latin inscriptions from the Netherlands then known, as well as those from abroad that could shed light on the people who settled in the territory confined by the actual national boundaries, especially the Batavi and the Cananefates.³² More recently, selections of inscriptions have been discussed in the context of research on the political institutions of the Batavi and Cananefates.³³ It goes without saying that new discoveries have not only rendered these surveys incomplete, they have sometimes also forced us to reconsider some of the old material. As a full discussion of each inscription is clearly beyond the scope of this study, the available evidence has been presented in the appendix at the end of this paper.

The guiding principle for my inventory of inscriptions is that the text must entail an explicit reference to Batavian descent. I will come back to the methodological implications of this criterion in the next section. Suffice it to say that this has resulted in a collection of 58 inscriptions referring to 69 Batavi; a Batavian descent is explicitly stated for 63 of them, with the remaining six being direct relatives, mostly brothers (appendix, table B).³⁴ Apart from this group of inscriptions, several categories have been defined for which Batavian descent may be surmised, with varying degrees of certainty. The first contains inscriptions erected by local magistrates and council members (table C). Although public offices in the local community will generally have been held by citizens from that *civitas*, examples of magistrates or councillors who served 'abroad' call for caution.³⁵ As there are no explicit indications of a 'foreign' origin, I assume that the *summus magistratus* and the two *decuriones* of the Batavian *civitas* were all of local stock. The second category contains people for whom we may assume a Batavian background on military-historical grounds. Service in a Batavian unit may be taken as a strong indicator, especially in the 1st and early 2nd century, but to avoid circular argument such cases have only been counted if there was addi-

³⁰ This was first recognised by Van Schevichaven (1881, ii-iii).

³¹ However, these included men for whom he unjustifiably assumed a Batavian background because of either the military unit they were serving in (e.g. *CIL* III 839) or a findspot in the Batavian home region (e.g. *CIL* XIII 8806, 8818).

³² One of the drawbacks of Byvanck's survey is that it offers virtually no datings and no – or only very brief – epigraphic commentary. The complete *Excerpta Romana*, including the volume with the inscriptions, can now be consulted electronically at <http://www.inghist.nl/retro-boeken/excerpta/>.

³³ The most important one here is Bogaers 1960/1961.

³⁴ Children mentioned in Roman military diplomas issued to Batavian auxiliaries have not been included in this survey. In the military diploma from Elst two (anonymous) daughters were mentioned, in that of Regensburg three (cf. note 43 below).

³⁵ Most of them served in neighbouring communities or in a town where they had become residents. For the principle, see Thomas 1996, 28, 129–131; for concrete examples, *CIL* XIII 2669 = Krier 1981, no. 20 (Autun), *CIL* XIII 2873 (Alise Ste Reine), *CIL* XIII 5353 (Moirans-en-Montagne) and *CIL* XII 1685 (Luc-en-Diois).

tional confirming evidence such as onomastic clues or kinship relations (table D). In addition, a number of people bore the ethnic cognomen Batavus or the ethnic nomen derived from it, Batavinus (table E). Although they are often conjectured to be of Batavian origin, this is far from certain; all we can say for certain is that they will have had some relationship with the Batavi. Finally, for the sake of completeness, historically known Batavi have been listed (table A).

The oldest inscription dates from the reign of Tiberius, the youngest from the second half of the 3rd century. The chronological distribution develops from a hesitant start in the first half of the 1st century and a considerable increase in the second half, towards a culmination in the 2nd century, followed by a rapid decline in the early 3rd century. There is just one inscription for the late 3rd century, and epigraphic documents mentioning private individuals who explicitly designate themselves as 'Batavian' are completely absent for the 4th and 5th centuries.³⁶ This chronological division corresponds perfectly to a general pattern observed over large parts of the Roman empire and must certainly be associated with the adoption and abandonment of the epigraphic practice.³⁷ However, there are good reasons to assume that it is not just the drying up of our sources that prevents us from encountering any Batavians after the late 3rd century. Internal developments in Batavian society itself are just as important as the rapid decline in epigraphic evidence. Recent archaeological research has shown that many rural settlements began to be deserted from the early 3rd century on. Although 4th-century settlement traces are being uncovered (as was the case in Tiel, for instance), the excavated house types and associated material culture are completely different from the earlier phases, suggesting a major discontinuity.³⁸ At the same time, public sanctuaries such as those at Empel and Elst, which played a key role in the reproduction of Batavian identity, were devastated shortly before the mid-3rd century and not rebuilt thereafter.³⁹ And in the 270s the site of the tribal capital of Ulpia Noviomagus was even abandoned. Taken together, we cannot but conclude that at some time in the late 3rd century, the Batavian community (*civitas Batavorum*) ceased to exist as such. Although the memory of a Batavian identity group still lived on in some epigraphic and historically transmitted names of auxiliary units from the early 5th century,⁴⁰ it is unlikely that at this stage the soldiers serving in these formations were all still ethnic Batavians. By then, the old practice of ethnic soldiering had long been replaced by local recruitment in the garrison's province.⁴¹

³⁶ However, the 'Batavian' label does turn up as part of regimental names in late Roman inscriptions as well as written sources. Cf. note 40 below.

³⁷ Mrozek 1973, 1988; MacMullen 1982; Woolf 1996.

³⁸ Heeren 2006; Roymans *et al.* 2007.

³⁹ Roymans/Derks 1994; Roymans 2004, 258; Derks *et al.* 2008, esp. 69 and 139 ff.

⁴⁰ Epigraphically, after the mid-3rd century, the ethnic label of the Batavi is only documented as a regimental name of both an infantry and cavalry unit in sarcophagus inscriptions from the late Roman cemetery at Concordia in Northern Italy. For these inscriptions, see *CIL* V 8743, 8752, 8759, 8761, 8773, 8776, and *AE* 1891, 101 (*Batavi seniores*), and *AE* 1891, 106 (*equites Batavi seniores*), with comments and corrected readings in Hoffmann 1963 and *id.* 1969, 75 ff. As Hoffmann (1963, 25; 1969, 83 ff, esp. 101, 526) convincingly demonstrated, these inscriptions must be dated to the winter of AD 393–394; for the history of their discovery and a description of the cemetery,

see *CIL* V, p. 1058, Hoffmann 1969, 61 ff and Lettich 1983, 17–37. These and additional units are mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Occ.* 5.19, 5.163 and 7.14: *pedites Batavi seniores*; *Occ.* 6.5, 6.47, and 7.167: *equites Batavi seniores*; *Occ.* 40.39: Cohors I Batavorum; *Occ.* 35.24: Cohors IX Batavorum), whereas in a more general sense – i.e. without the details of unit names – Batavian armed forces are mentioned throughout Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* (16.12.45, 20.1.3, 20.4.2, 27.1.6, 27.8.7, 31.13.8–9). It may be noted in passing that the Batavi are the only namegiving tribe of late Roman auxiliary units which is already known as such from the early empire. This may point to the continued (or renewed) exceptional importance of ethnic soldiering among the Batavi at the time the regiments of the late Roman army were first conscripted (i.e. under the tetrarchy or Constantine at the latest).

⁴¹ Hoffmann 1969, 81.

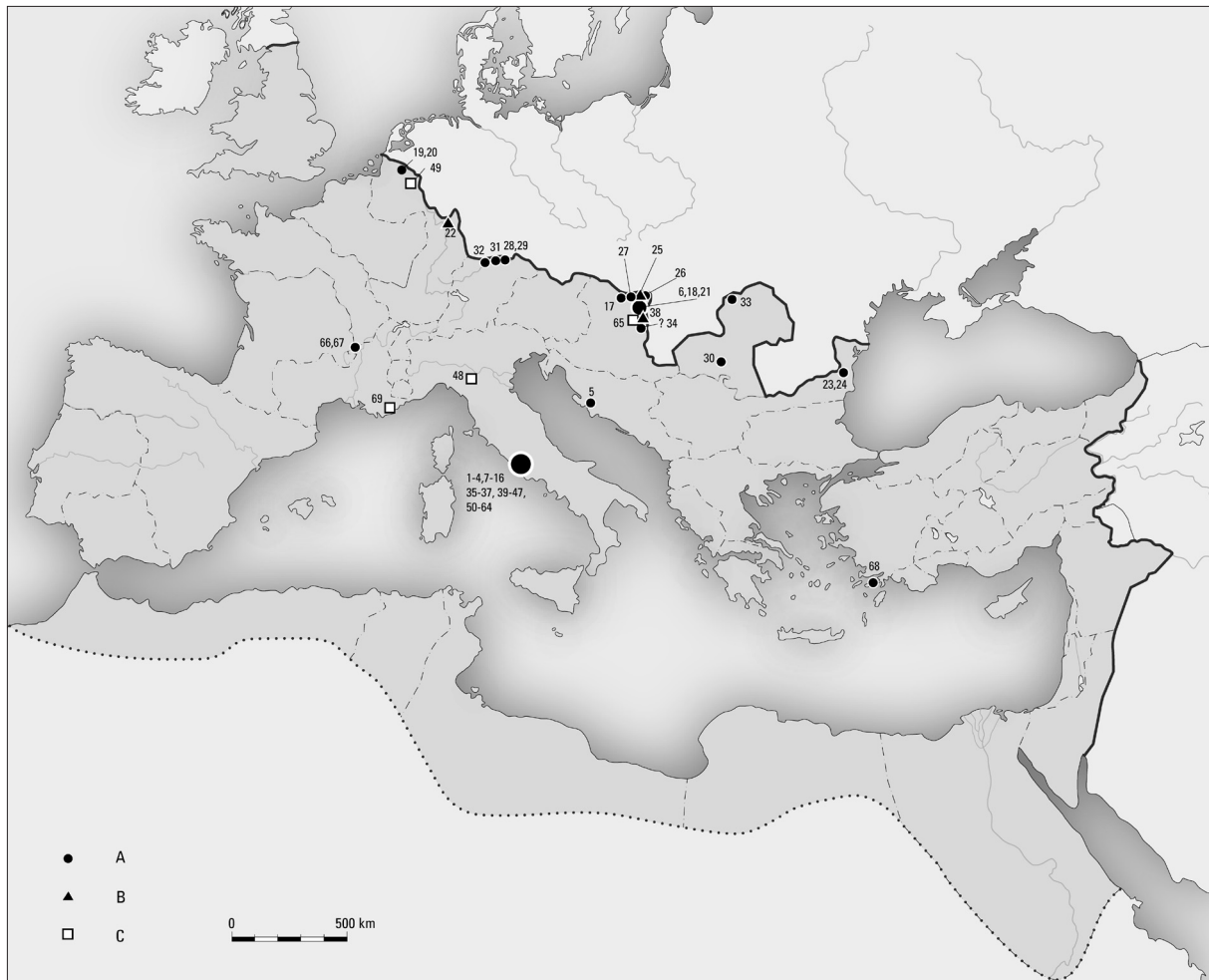


Fig. 2. Distribution of inscriptions including Roman military diplomas which explicitly mention individuals of Batavian descent.

A active auxiliary or legionary soldier, member of the imperial horse guard, or soldier of the praetorian guard; B veteran soldier; C civilian (small symbol: 1-2 individuals; medium size symbol: 3-4 individuals; large symbol: 5 or more individuals; numbering corresponds to that of table B in the appendix).

If we now take a look at the geographical distribution of inscriptions that mention Batavians (fig. 2), apart from a marked presence at Rome, we are immediately struck by the scattering of inscriptions in the frontier regions of the empire. The pattern's strong military bias is further confirmed by the military background recorded for most Batavians. Apart from Celerinius Fidelis (B 66), a former recruit in the 30th Legion based at Xanten who had succeeded in escaping the hardships of the ordinary soldier's life to become an *officialis* in the office of the financial procurator of Lugdunensis and Aquitania at Lyon (cf. fig. 7), the only Batavian outside the imperial capital not directly linked to the army is a gladiator (*retiarius*), who died and was buried in the North Italian town of Parma (B 48).⁴² Also instructive is the fact that the four Batavian women whom we know of were all the wives of serving soldiers and officers who followed their husbands through the empire during their period of service. Two of these women

⁴² The situation of the Tungri is highly comparable. Here we know of only two people who did not serve in the

army (cf. below table 5).

are known to us from military diplomas issued to their husbands on discharge: Mattua Silvani fil. (B 29) ended up with her Batavian husband M. Ulpius Fronto (B 28), a soldier in the Cohors I Batavorum, and their three daughters in the civil settlement near the auxiliary fortress of Regensburg-Kumpfmühl in Raetia,⁴³ while the Batavian wife (who remains anonymous) of a Frisian cavalryman, following her husband's discharge from the Ala I Hispanorum Auriana (B 32), then stationed in Biriciana/Weissenburg in Raetia, settled with her family in the vicinity of her husband's last posting in the Raetian countryside. The two other Batavian women are known to us from gravestones, which we know with varying degrees of certainty were erected by their husbands in the vicinity of their army camps: the Batavian Procula (B 30) was buried near the *castellum* of Tibiscum in the province of Dacia,⁴⁴ whereas [--- R]omana (B 65), who was married to the prefect (probably also a Batavian) of the Cohors III Batavorum milliaria, found her final resting place in the vicinity of the garrison town Vetus Salina in Pannonia Inferior.

In addition to these women for whom a Batavian origin is beyond question, our documentation also includes several examples of women for whom there is no final proof of a Batavian background, although all indications point in that direction. For example, we can assume on the basis of her nomen, formed by the Rhineland suffix '-inius', that Maturinia Pia (D 15), who we know from an inscription from Lyon (cf. fig. 7), probably came from Germania Inferior;⁴⁵ her relationship to a Batavian soldiering family makes it likely that she herself also originally came from the *insula Batavorum*. When her husband, the above-mentioned legionary Fidelis, was transferred to Lyon in the early 3rd century from his station in Xanten to serve as an *exactus* on the staff of the financial procurator of Gallia Lugdunensis (and Aquitania),⁴⁶ she had no choice but to go with him. Following his death and burial there at the age of 40, she stayed behind as a widow with three children in the Gallic provincial capital.⁴⁷ Finally, the probable Batavian Batavinia Romana (E 9), travelled with her husband M. Pub(licius) Adventus, a soldier in the same 30th legion from Xanten, to Aquitania, where they buried their 11-month-old son, named after his father M. Adventinius Fruendus, in Avaricum/Bourges.⁴⁸ It is not clear what brought them there, but Adventus was probably posted from his legion to the Lyon-based *vexillatio*, taken from the four Lower and Upper German legions which had taken over the job of the disbanded Cohors Urbana since Septimius Severus's decisive victory

⁴³ As the children of two Batavian parents, the daughters Vagatra, Sureia and Sata were Batavian by descent, although not explicitly designated as such in the diploma. The unit Fronto had served in was part of the army of Pannonia Superior at the time. It is unclear why Fronto and his family settled in Raetia; army service had probably brought him into contact with people in this army camp or the surrounding *vicus*.

⁴⁴ Her husband's name and background have not survived. If we assume, however, that her stay in Tibiscum was linked to her husband being based at the local fort, he may have served in the Cohors IVindelicorum. This unit was stationed in the Flavian period in Lower Germany (*CIL* XIII 8320 = *RSK* 272; *RMD* IV 216 from AD 98), and was transferred to Moesia Superior, undoubtedly in connection with Trajan's First Dacian war (*CIL* XVI 43 from AD 100). The unit arrived at Tibiscum shortly after the mid-2nd century (*CIL* XVI 107, dated to 156/157), or in the late 2nd or early 3rd century (Benea 1986, 452).

⁴⁵ On the Rhenish -inius *nomina*, in general see Weisgerber 1968, 135-138, 386-392, esp. map on 387; idem 1972; Bérard 2001, 669 ff, esp. 670 f.; cf. also Dondin-Payre 2001, 580 f.; Haensch 2001, 93 with notes 42-43. A Maturinia Galea is known from Bonn (*CIL* XIII 8070), where she erected a funerary monument for her husband Liberalinius Vitalis, who had served in Legio I Minervia.

⁴⁶ For the duty of *exacti*, see Haensch 1997, 713 ff, esp. 722; Bérard 2000, 291 f.

⁴⁷ She may have been supported by her brother-in-law, Celerinius Augendus (B 67), an equestrian officer who completed the *tres militiae*, and who together with her took care of the gravestone. On Augendus' career, see *PME* C 104; Haensch 2001, 136.

⁴⁸ Both husband and wife bore a nomen that was typical of the Lower Rhine area. Cf. note 45 above.

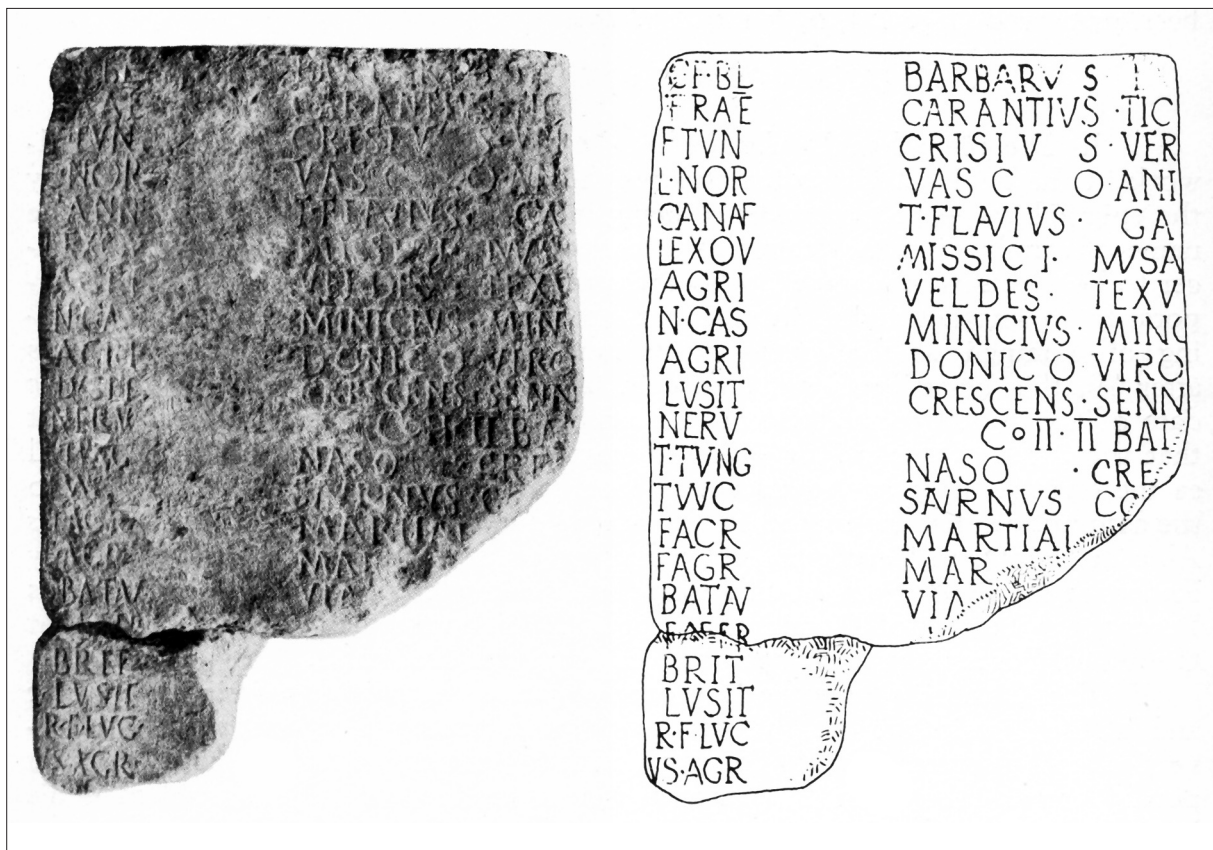


Fig. 3. Photograph and drawing of a stone slab (width 0.90 m) from the left side of the war memorial of Adamklissi (RO) erected 'to the memory of the very brave men who died for the country (*patria*)' in the emperor Trajan's Dacian wars showing two fragmentary preserved columns of soldiers' names and their origins. In the left column one Batavian is mentioned (l. 16), in the right the heading of the Cohors II Batavorum is followed by the names of five victims from this unit (after Doruțiu 1961, 358, fig. 3).

over Clodius Albinus in 197.⁴⁹ Once again, we know of these two women mainly through their husbands' military careers. However colourful their life stories may have been, they confirm the strong military bias of the epigraphic source material available for the Batavians.

If we look more closely at the men themselves, we see that in the provinces, with the exception of two legionary soldiers (B 22 and B 66) and a commander of the Pannonian fleet (B 34), they all served in the auxiliary forces of the Roman army.⁵⁰ Their presence in different parts of the empire is closely related to the military history of Batavian and other Lower German auxiliary forces. The few Batavians known to us for the 1st century served in a non-Batavian unit that was transferred from the Rhine to Dalmatia and Pannonia after their enrolment. In the early 2nd century, Batavians formed part of the Roman army that fought the Dacian wars, either in one of their own units or as soldiers enlisted in other 'national' units.⁵¹ At least two Batavian casualties were recorded on the impressive memorial altar that Trajan erected as a

⁴⁹ For the Lyon garrison, see Freis 1967, esp. 30 f.; Bérard 2000, 279; idem 2001. For the inscription, Haensch 2001a, 120, no. 122; Kakoschke 2004, 145, who in spite of the designation *miles* suspects that that this may have involved a veteran.

⁵⁰ B 68 was the 8-month-old son of a *centurio* from Legio II Parthica. Cf. note 80 below.

⁵¹ The Second Cohort of Batavians is recorded on the Tropaeum Traiani, but the First Cohort probably also took part in the war.

tribute to all those who had died in action on the battlefield near Adamklissi in present-day Romania (fig. 3). After the Dacian wars and the frequent transfers resulting from them, Batavians were mainly posted along the Upper Danube, in Noricum, Raetia and Pannonia.

Finally, we need to mention the single findspot with the largest number of inscriptions that record Batavians – the imperial capital at Rome. The vast majority of these inscriptions relate to Batavian soldiers from the imperial bodyguard, the *Germani corporis custodes* of the 1st century (cf. fig. 1) and the *equites singulares Augusti* of the 2nd and 3rd. These horsemen had been picked from the cavalry of the auxiliary forces in the provinces to serve the emperor in Rome and on his journeys across the empire. In the 3rd century, a few Batavian soldiers (B 52–56) worked their way up to the prestigious Praetorian Guard that also had its headquarters in the metropolis.

5 CONTEXTS OF ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Expressions of ethnic identity were only one way in which people sought to position themselves within the context of the Roman empire. As the empire's inhabitants naturally belonged to many, partly overlapping, social groups based on class, age, profession, gender, kinship, religion, language or origin (to mention only the most important axes of social organisation), they had many allegiances whose relative importance fluctuated according to context. This raises the question as to what precisely were the kinds of social context in which ethnic self-definitions became relevant and were expressed in inscriptions.

The guiding principle behind the inventory in this study is the requirement that a Batavian affiliation be explicitly mentioned in the inscription. While this has the great advantage of presenting a clear criterion that avoids the difficult issue of establishing origin on the basis of onomastics,⁵² it also has major implications for the results of our inquiry. After all, references to origin have proven to be context-dependent and particularly relevant in interaction with perceived ethnic 'others'.⁵³ If we inspect more closely the geographical distribution of inscriptions containing an explicit mention of Batavian descent, we see that not a single text appears to have been found within Batavian territory.⁵⁴ The local origin of people mentioned in votive or funeral inscriptions erected in their homeland was self-evident and usually went without saying; it was only abroad that Batavians revealed themselves as such. Conversely, it is only 'foreigners' who can be identified unambiguously in the epigraphy of the Batavian homeland.⁵⁵ Since an explicit statement of tribal affiliation makes little sense among fellow tribesmen, Batavians remain invisible in their homeland.

⁵² Cf., for instance, Solin 1994/95.

⁵³ In this respect, despite the distorting effects of the epigraphic habit, it is the *presence* in Roman Cologne of inscriptions mentioning Agrippinenses that requires an explanation, rather than the *absence* of Ubii (*contra* Carroll 2001, 128). Those who did refer to local citizenship in the frontier town will have had good reasons to do so, for instance, as a way of distancing themselves from others with whom they had otherwise much in common. We could think here of soldiers who wanted to stress their local origin as opposed to their numerous foreign colleagues, immigrants – including veterans and tradesmen – wanting to emphasise membership of the local citizenry despite a foreign origin (e.g. *CIL* XIII 8283 = *RSK* 219; *CIL* XIII 2023), and Ubians wishing

to underline their citizenship in the colony despite their (former) Ubian background (e.g. *CIL* XIII 8336 = *RSK* 304). For an overview of such exceptions in Gaul, Burnand 2005, 240, note 2.

⁵⁴ The military diploma of Elst is clearly an exception, but since such documents are products of the Roman army bureaucracy, they should not be included in a contextual analysis of ethnic *self*-ascription.

⁵⁵ For an example, cf. the recently discovered funerary stele from Houten which was erected for an auxiliary soldier from Forum Iuli. In contrast to the view expressed in my first publication of the inscription (Derks 2003; *AE* 2001, 1515), the Iulia mentioned in the text may have been the deceased's manumitted slave and wife. I thank Dick Whittaker for this suggestion.

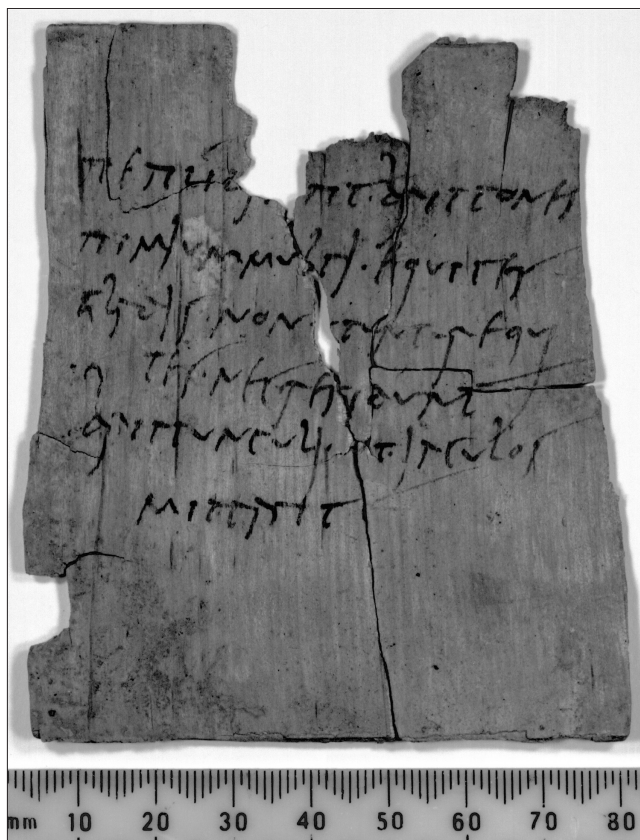


Fig. 4. Vindolanda writing tablet (TV 164) containing an intelligence report of sorts on horse riding techniques of the native Britons, referred to in the first line as *Brittones*, and in the fifth by the patronising diminutive *Brittunculi*, 'those wretched little Brits'. Photograph Oxford, Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents.

These two patterns are not of course unique to the Batavi, but apply generally to all tribal groups in the Roman world.⁵⁶

The idea that ethnicity is context-based cannot just be inferred from the inscription findspots, it is also evident in a few other patterns. For instance, it is conspicuous that nearly all Batavian soldiers whose tribal affiliation is mentioned were serving in a non-Batavian unit.⁵⁷ The only exception is a recently discovered epitaph from Solva/Esztergom in Hungary, erected by a Batavian soldier from the First Cohort of Batavians for his deceased father (B 26). Also important is an observation regarding the famous Vindolanda tablets. As we know, most of

these documents belong to the period when the Ninth Cohort of Batavians garrisoned the fort.⁵⁸ While the tablets contain many names of individual soldiers whose onomastics also show a clear connection with the Lower Rhine area,⁵⁹ so far there are only two instances where the soldier's name is accompanied by his tribal affiliation. Tellingly, the men in question are a Treveran and – if the lacuna is correctly read – a Vangio, both foreigners in a cohort that at that time still largely consisted of ethnic Batavians. Birley has suggested that this recording of tribal affiliation may have been prompted by a desire to distinguish these men from Batavians of the same name.⁶⁰ Regardless of how we explain these two exceptions, the bulk of the Vindolanda evidence tells us clearly enough that ethnicity was hardly an issue in the daily routine of a Roman garrison.⁶¹

The situation may have been completely different as soon as the men left the walled circuit of the army camp on their patrols and encountered the enemy. A report on the fighting techniques of the

this time (cf. Van Rossum 2004), this does not mean that particular behavioural characteristics of these soldiers could not have functioned as ethnic markers to an outsider. One example is the sizeable consumption of beer, as recorded in the Vindolanda writing tablets (TV 190, 628; cf. also TV 182, 186, 482, 581). While beer consumption may not have been an exclusive prerogative of Batavian auxiliaries, it may have served as a pointer to a small circle of British or Germanic groups.

⁵⁶ Compare, for instance, the evidence collected in Wierschowski 2001 and Kakosche 2004.

⁵⁷ Again, this is not a pattern unique to the Batavians. Nouwen (1997, 261) made similar observations for soldiers from the Tungri.

⁵⁸ Bowman/Thomas 2003, 11–12, 23–26; periods II and III, ranging from c. AD 92 to c. AD 104/105.

⁵⁹ Birley 2001.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 246–247, note 15.

⁶¹ Although the unit was still ethnically homogeneous at



Fig. 5. Votive altar to Hercules Magusano erected in the headquarters of the imperial horse guard at Rome by 'Batavian or Thracian citizens selected from the province of Lower Germany' to commemorate their share in the emperor's safe return to the capital. Dated to September 29, AD 219.

Herculi Magusano / ob reditum domini nostri / M(arci) Aurelii Antonini Pii / Felicis Aug(usti), equites singulares / Antoniniani eius, cives / Batavi sive Thraces adlecti / ex provincia Germania / inferiore, votum solverunt / libentes merito III Kal(endas) Oct(obres) / Imp(eratore) d(omine) n(ostro) / Antonino Aug(usto) II et / Tineio Sacerdote II co(n)s(ulibus) (CIL VI 31162 = ESA 62).

Britons is instructive here. We read that 'the cavalry does not use swords nor do the little Brits mount in order to throw javelins' (fig. 4).⁶² It seems that throwing javelins while mounted was the norm among the reporting scouts; the fact that they used the Latin diminutive *Brittunculi* to designate the unusual equipment and behaviour of their opponents betrays an attitude of superiority and contempt towards the native British cavalry. Such positioning with regard to close neighbours whose way of life hardly differs from one's own is typical of ethnic relationships, as is

the disproportionate attention to what, to an outsider, may seem insignificant details. I'll come back to this shortly. For the moment, we may conclude that such differences of detail only become clear and acquire meaning in interaction with those perceived as non-group members. Methodologically, it may be important to add that this feature of British ethnic identity focuses exclusively on the male section of society. What ethnic discourse among women would have looked like has gone unrecorded.

But let's return to the monumental inscriptions that form the bulk of our evidence. They direct our attention to two more settings in which ethnicity may have been relevant. The first is death in a foreign country. The vast majority of Batavians living outside their homeland have become known to us through their epitaphs. Death was of course an occasion par excellence in which those who stayed behind could look back on the life of a beloved relative or friend. Aspects of status, age, and class roles, alongside flattering descriptions of the deceased's character, were normally selected for inclusion in the commemorative inscription on funerary monuments erected to their memory. It seems that one thing that certainly mattered in the event of death in a foreign country was to refer to the deceased's ethnic background. It is impossible to say whether explicit mention of this detail was prompted by regret at the premature death that prevented burial in the deceased's native soil, or by a feeling of pride that also reflected on those responsible for erecting the monument (after all, they too will often have had a similar background). If the outward form of the commemorative monument bore any relation to the form of the funeral ceremony, we have to assume that most Batavians who died abroad were buried according to local custom rather than to that of their home region.⁶³

⁶² TV 164: (...) *Brittones / nimium multi equites / gladis non utuntur equi/tes nec residunt / Brittunculi ut iaculos / mittant.*

⁶³ Cf. Derks 2004, regarding the monuments of the *Germani corporis custodes*.

The second setting in which a person's origin could be mentioned was dedications. We can distinguish here between individual and collective dedications. Private dedicators acting on their own rarely mentioned ethnic background. The few exceptions from the Lower Rhine include a dedication by a legionary soldier from Arezzo in Cologne⁶⁴ and a series of votive altars erected by Gaulish *negotiatores* in the sanctuary of Nehalennia, now off the coast near Colijnsplaat.⁶⁵ No single example survives for the Batavians.⁶⁶

Dedications that make explicit reference to ethnic background were normally acts of collective worship. A nice, and at the same time unique, example are the *cives Batavi sive Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiori*, Batavian or Thracian horsemen who were selected for the imperial bodyguard in Rome after serving in the auxilia from Lower Germany (fig. 5). On returning from a journey to the Orient with the emperor Elagabalus, they dedicated an altar *ob reditum imperatoris* to Hercules Magusanus, one of the prominent gods in their last province of service. Soldiers from a particular ethnic group describing themselves as *cives* of a certain area and joining together for a dedication to a god or emperor were no exception in the Roman world. To mention just one familiar example, the German *cives Tuihanti* serving in a Frisian unit based at Housesteads erected several altars on Hadrian's Wall to Mars Thingsus and the two Alaisiagae, otherwise unknown goddesses whose cult most probably originated from their home area on the continent.⁶⁷ Noteworthy in the Batavian example is the use of the syndeton *sive* as a conjunction between Batavi and Thraces. It suggests that, to the authors of the inscription, there was hardly any difference between the Thracian and Batavian element mentioned in the text. This has led to the interesting assumption that the altar's dedicators were Batavians recruited to a Thracian unit while it was stationed in Germany. This would fit well with our knowledge of the development of the recruitment system for the Roman army auxilia. In the early 3rd century, a nominally Thracian unit that had stayed long enough in the Batavian area would certainly have included large numbers of Batavi.⁶⁸ If this interpretation is correct, the inscription nicely illustrates the bureaucratic impact of the Roman army's changing recruitment strategies on the collective self-representation of recruits.⁶⁹

An interesting aspect of the dedication by the 'Batavi or Thracians' is that, like the Tuihanti mentioned earlier, they apparently acted without their colleagues serving in the same unit. This raises the question as to what happened to those excluded soldiers. Were they so few in number that they were simply neglected?⁷⁰ Or should we imagine them doing the same with respect to their provincial gods? From a modern point of view, such separate and potentially divisive actions by different sections of the same military unit

⁶⁴ CIL XIII 8174 = RSK 15.

⁶⁵ Derks 1998, 144, table 4.1; Stuart/Bogaers 2001.

⁶⁶ Without explicit information on the dedicator's background, votive inscriptions to 'Batavian' gods such as Hercules Magusanus or Vagdavercustis cannot in themselves be taken as a reliable indication that the dedicator was a Batavian.

⁶⁷ RIB 1593-1594. Likewise, soldiers recruited from areas either larger or smaller than a tribe and serving within a particular military unit could join together for worship. Compare, for instance, dedications by *c(i)ves* *Raeti* (RIB 2100), a *pagus Vella(v)us* (RIB 2107, Birrens), and a *pagus Condrustis* (RIB 2108), all serving in the same Cohors II Tungrorum based at Birrens.

⁶⁸ Noy 2000, 222. Of the Thracian units that had been stationed some time in Lower Germany, only the mixed

Cohors IV Thracum, the Ala I Thracum, and the Ala Classiana Gallorum et Thracum may still have been in the province by the late 2nd or early 3rd century and eventually have functioned as the guards' mother units. On these units, Alföldy 1968, 17 ff, 36 f., 71 f.; Bogaers 1974; Eck/Pangerl 2004 (complete diploma from 5.9.152).

⁶⁹ The alternative would be to explain the asyndeton by the similar high-quality horsemanship for which both Batavi and Thracians were renowned. The differential recording of their homes (tribe or province) matches the patterns observed in Roman military records (cf. above, note 27) and would again be testimony to the influence of the Roman army's official records on the soldiers' forms of self-representation in their private monuments.

⁷⁰ For non-Batavian members of the guard, cf. note 26 above.

would seem a threat to the unit's internal cohesion and esprit de corps. But judging by the evidence available for other formations, such as the Second Cohort of Tungrians, acts of worship by sections of army units were not viewed as a problem by the army authorities, probably because, in line with Rome's general attitude in religious affairs, they were seen to add to rather than replace the official army religion.⁷¹ From the Roman point of view, the 'native' gods of these ethnic groups were thus additionally recruited for the well-being and safeguarding of the unit; for the ethnic military enclaves themselves such collective acts of worship to the main gods of their home area were an important instrument for maintaining bonds of solidarity among like-minded fellow tribesmen while remaining fully loyal to the Roman cause.

Although acts of worship such as those by the Batavian or Thracian guard may have been quite routine and need not indicate any political unrest, they may well have triggered a heightened ethnic solidarity and consciousness. In two inscriptions from Xanten and Rindern, citizens from the Lingones and Remi joined together to thank the principal gods from their home regions for the well-being of emperor Nero, as well as for the salvation of the citizens (*ob cives servatos*).⁷² In this case, the addition of the latter formula does hint at a serious threat to public order; this has variously been identified with invasions by groups of Frisians and Amsivarii in AD 57/58, with the great fire of Rome in AD 64, with the Pisonian conspiracy in AD 65, or with the revolt of Vindex in AD 68.⁷³ The exact historical context is irrelevant for our argument here; what matters here is that, after the crisis had been averted, these ethnic enclaves hastened to proclaim their loyalty to and sympathy with the sovereign authority in order to ensure that they were on the right side of the divide.

The Batavian revolt provides a clear example of how, in times of crisis or dramatic political upheaval, ethnic sentiments could be mobilised against the imperial power. To conclude this survey, I will touch upon one particular episode from this uprising that not only underpins my point, but is also particularly instructive as to the role of material culture in ethnic discourse.

During the Batavian revolt, the trans-Rhenish Tencteri sent envoys to the colony of the neighbouring Ubii.⁷⁴ Not unlike the Tencteri, the Ubii had always claimed a Germanic origin. Since the establishment of a Roman colony under Claudius, they had quickly adopted Roman customs. For a long time, this had remained unproblematic: significantly, Julius Civilis himself, the leader of the anti-Roman coalition, had his son educated in the colony.⁷⁵ But the changed political circumstances of the revolt suddenly transformed the symbols of *Romanitas* into a focus of hatred. In return for tearing down the walls of 'slavery' and killing all Romans in Ubian territory, the Tencteran envoys promised the Ubii a life as a 'pure, unaffected people, forgetting its former slave status'. The 'offer' was of course unacceptable to the Ubii. They replied that while all foreigners had already been killed or had fled to their home towns, the veteran settlers of the first hour had intermingled with them through marriage with native women to such an extent that they and their children considered the Ubian colony to be as much their *patria* as the Ubii themselves did.⁷⁶

⁷¹ For army religion, cf. Herz 2002; Stoll 2007. For the divisions of the Tungrian cohort, cf. note 67 above. There is some indication that these monuments were erected more or less simultaneously: one pair (*RIB* 2107 and 2108) shows essentially the same wording, whereas the third inscription (*RIB* 2100) was erected under the same prefect as one from the pair (*RIB* 2108). Finally, there is a dedication to Minerva by the whole unit, again under the same prefect (*RIB* 2104).

⁷² *CIL* XIII 8701 = *AE* 1980, 656; *AE* 1981, 690. Cf. *CIL* XIII 11806; Derks 1998, 89 f.

⁷³ Wierschowski 2001, 410.

⁷⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 64.

⁷⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 63.

⁷⁶ Since very few local women will have had Roman citizenship in the early 1st century, Tacitus' description implies that the deduced legionary veterans were given the right of *conubium*. Cf. Vittinghoff 1994, 288 f.; Haensch 1999, 649 f. For an instructive epigraphic example of intermarriage between a putative legionary soldier and a native Ubian woman, see *CIL* XIII 8565 (Neuss).

From an archaeological point of view, this example has some wider relevance since it shows again how particular details are temporarily selected from the entire cultural package and treated as typical of a certain ethnic identity. In times of immense political pressure, heightened ethnic awareness clearly leads conflicting parties to emphasise selective details and neglect others – in short, it produces stereotypes. This is what is amply illustrated here: circumstances had reduced the multiple bonds of interaction existing between members of *Civilis*' coalition and the inhabitants of the colony to a stereotypical opposition between 'Germans' and 'Romans'.

Summing up, we may conclude that ethnicity is a situational construct that becomes relevant only in particular contexts. Although ethnic background was entered in each soldier's personal files in the army archive, the Vindolanda evidence suggests that it went largely unrecorded in the paperwork that reflected each unit's daily routine. At the same time, the recruitment practices of the Roman army fostered bonds of ethnic solidarity within these same *auxilia*. The sources suggest that the most important contexts were collective acts of worship by soldiers from the same ethnic background but serving in mixed units, as well as funerals for soldiers and veterans who died abroad. In the latter case, ethnicity was often deemed a relevant aspect that merited mention in an epitaph. In the interaction with the social environment of the fort, ethnic difference was not located in objective phenotypic difference, but in subjectively selected details of cultural practices, such as horse riding, which up to a point were broadly similar among the interacting groups. In times of political tension, ethnicity sometimes became a matter of life and death, whereby particular forms of behaviour or material culture were randomly selected and magnified to create stereotypical oppositions.

6 FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS OF ORIGIN

Having presented the evidence for Batavians in the epigraphic record and outlined the contexts of ethnic consciousness, we will discuss in this section the precise epigraphic formulae used in inscriptions to describe origin. We will investigate what distinct shades of meaning might have been involved, ask whether these remained unchanged and always relevant, and see what conclusions may be drawn from their chronological development.

We can distinguish three distinct principles of self-ascription in the terminology used to describe origin in the epigraphic evidence: 1) tribal affiliation, employing the term *natione* or *domo* in conjunction with the ethnicum,⁷⁷ 2) civic ascription built on the term *civis*, again followed by the ethnicum, and 3) geographical provenance through mention of the *caput civitatis*. In almost half of all inscriptions, the Batavi expressed their affiliation by the formula *natione Batavus* (table 1).⁷⁸ From a cultural philosophical perspective it is noteworthy that *natione* derives from the Latin verb *nascisci*, 'to be born'. Etymologically, the term thus refers to the idea of kinship through birth, one of the key notions that even today underlies much ethnic thinking. In the Roman empire origin was indeed hereditary rather than territorially defined.⁷⁹ This is nicely illustrated by the epitaph erected by a Batavian *centurio* for his 8-month-old son: although the boy was said to be *nat(ione) Batav(u)s*, his very young age in combination with a burial place

⁷⁷ The adjectival form of the province's name could perhaps be used, e.g. *Raetus*, *Pannonius* etc. As this is unattested for tribes from the Lower Rhine (cf. above, note 27), I won't elaborate on this elsewhere in this paper.

⁷⁸ The inscription from Riez (B 68), which is the only

one that has to be dated to the second half of the 3rd, or possibly even the 4th century AD, has not been included, whereas those listed in the appendix under nos B 49–51 have been counted among the 2nd-century inscriptions.

⁷⁹ Thomas 1996.

Specification of origin	I A	I B	II	IIIA	total
<i>natio Batavus</i>	1 (0)	11 (1)	8 (7)	9 (9)	29 (17)
<i>domo Batavus</i>		3 (0)	1 (1)		4 (1)
<i>Batavus</i>		3 (0)	10 (5)		13 (5)
<i>Ulpia Noviomago (natio) Batavus</i>			4 (4)		4 (4)
<i>(Ulpia) Noviomago (Batavorum)</i>			7 (7)	4 (4)	11 (11)
<i>civis Batavus</i>				2 (2 ?)	2 (2?)
total	1 (0)	17 (1)	30 (24)	15 (15)	63 (40)

Table 1. Specification of origin in inscriptions by Batavian individuals between the first half of the 1st and the first half of the 3rd century AD. The number of people who possessed Roman citizenship is given in brackets (cf. appendix).

at Cnidus in Asia Minor makes it very unlikely that he was actually born on Batavian soil.⁸⁰ As the other, perhaps dominant, meaning of the Latin *natio* shows, the point of reference for this kin-ordered concept of origin appears to have been a people or tribe. If we take both shades of meaning together, the term *natio* seems to denote a tribal affiliation adopted through birth.

In three inscriptions from Pannonia the formula *domo Batavus* is used to express a Batavian origin (fig. 6). The form is a regional variant which was particularly popular in the Danube provinces.⁸¹ While it has the same connotation of defining origin through descent, the point of reference is the house rather than the tribe. Although there is ample evidence to show that the concept of ‘house’ refers to both the physical building that provides shelter and the social group that inhabited it,⁸² it is important to remember that not every residence could be called a *domus*: for a house to be designated as such, it had to be the seat of the family as apparent from the presence of the *lares familiares*. Judged against this background, expressions such as *domo Batavus* principally refer to an understanding of the Batavians as an ancestral lineage group with a shared origin.⁸³

In addition to this first group of formulae which conceptualise origin as a form of kinship, other forms of expression employed the term *civis*, followed by the adjective of the people or the town to which the person belonged, e.g. *civis Batavus* or *civis Agrippinensis* (fig. 7). Both forms emphasise political-administrative ascription to the civic community (*civitas*) where the individual was inscribed as a citizen. As many inscriptions by *peregrini* show, the citizenship referred to in such inscriptions is always a *local* one (e.g. *civis* of the *civitas Batavorum*), which did not necessarily imply *Roman* citizenship of the metropolis. If the local community happened to be a Roman colony, only inhabitants with full Roman citizenship were allowed to call themselves citizens. Both forms are rare among the Batavians: only two people presented themselves as *cives Batavi* (B 66 and B 69; cf. fig. 7), and we have no example of Batavians who described themselves as *cives Noviomagenses*.

⁸⁰ Contra the editor of *CIL* III 14403, who reads *D(is) M(anibus) / T. Fl(avius) Maritimus / eq(ues) R(omanus) nat(us) / Batav(us) vixit*, etc. For other Batavian children who in all probability were born in a foreign country, see note 43 above.

⁸¹ Krier 1981, 173.

⁸² Cf. Saller 1994, 80 ff. The sense of *domus* as a family

group is of course well-known for the Imperial House and epigraphically widely attested by the formula *in honorem domus divinae* used in all forms of dedications. See also the discussion on *domo* below.

⁸³ Given the findspots of these inscriptions, *domo* cannot have referred to the place of residence, the *domicilium*, as opposed to the place of birth, the *patria*.

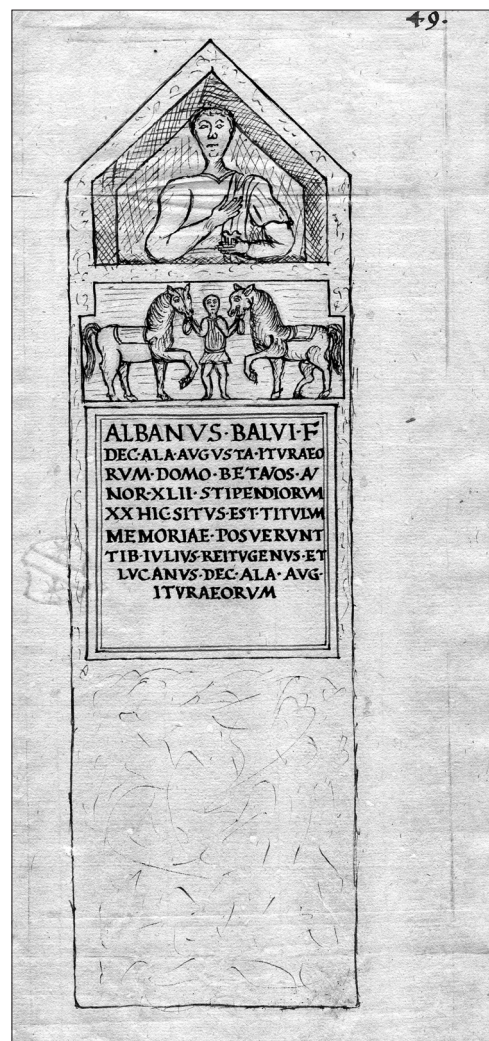


Fig. 6. Funerary monument from Brigetio/Szöny (H) erected by two decurions of the Ala Augusta Ituraeorum for their Batavian fellow decurion Albanus Balvi f. The stele's gable, with the deceased's portrait, now lost, is known from a drawing by Bartholomaeus Jupp in a manuscript from AD 1588 which is kept in the library of the University of Leiden. With the formula *domo Betavos*, the mentioning of Albanus' origin follows a regional convention. Photograph Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; drawing after Voss. Lat. O. 65, folia 49r, University of Leiden.

Albanus Balvi f(ilius) / dec(urio) ala Augusta Ituraeo/rum domo Betavos an/nor(um) XLII stipendiorum / XX hic situs est. Titulum / memoriae posuerunt / Tib(erius) Iulius Reitugenus et / Lucanus dec(uriones) ala Aug(usta) / Ituraeorum (CIL III 4368).

A neutral but ambiguous way of indicating origin was to employ the simple ethnicum (e.g. *Batavus*), used either as an adjective or as a substantival noun. Through the omission of *natione*, *domo* or *civis*, it could be read as the abbreviated form of each of the formulae discussed above. While this was the standard way of recording a soldier's background in Roman army files, as is apparent from official documents such as military diplomas and *laterculi*,⁸⁴ it remained incidental as a form of Batavian self-ascription (B 5 and B 49).

Finally, throughout the Latin West we find references to the tribal capital of a *civitas* as a common form of describing origin in geographical terms.⁸⁵ Whenever Batavians employed this way of describing their roots,

⁸⁴ Cf. note 27 above.

⁸⁵ As the examples for the Roman colonies at Cologne and

Xanten show, a distinction can be made here between officeholders who tended to use the town's full title,

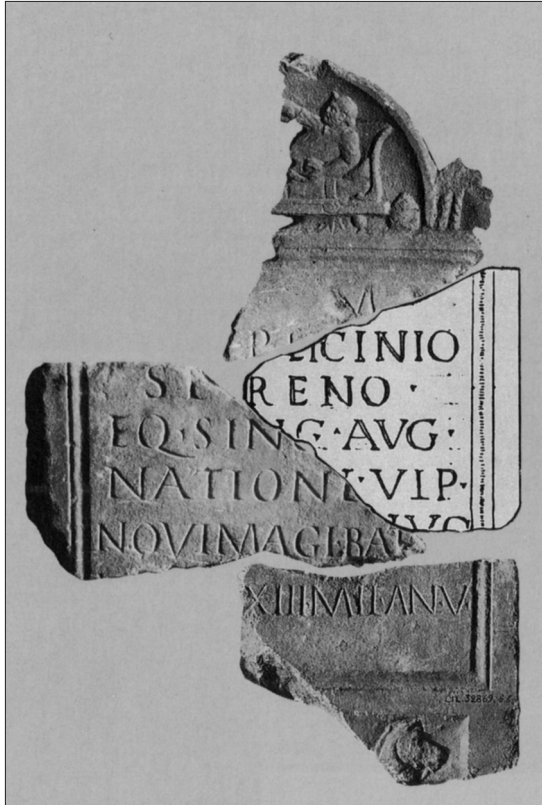


Fig. 8. Epitaph of a Batavian *equus singularis Augusti* mentioning his home town Ulpia Noviomagus (with spelling error!) in conjunction with the ethnic formula *natione Batavus*. Date: 2nd century. Photos and drawing after Speidel 1994a.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [. Si]mplicinio / Sereno, / eq(uiti) sing(ulari) Aug(usti), / natione Ulp(ia) / Novimagi (sic!) Bata(v)us / [vix(it) an(nos) X]XIII, mil(itavit) an(nos) V (ESA 211).

Finally, for the sake of completeness, we need to mention four cases of redundant formulations containing both the name of the town and the ethnicum, occasionally preceded by *natione*.⁸⁷

What should we conclude from all this? Before drawing immediate conclusions, we first need to ask whether the different formulaic expressions still retained the distinct shades of meaning which their etymology suggests, or whether they had become blurred over time, developing into plain convention. Hybrid formulae combining *natione* or *domo* with the name of a town demonstrate a certain loss of terminological accuracy (cf. fig. 8).⁸⁸ Also the fact that

Batavi in Pannonia used the formulae typical of the area points to the importance of convention. Finally, whether the *origo* was described in terms of membership of the civic community in which the individual was inscribed (*civis Batavus*) or through reference to the capital where most privileges of that membership could be exercised (Ulpia Noviomagus) may have made little difference to the people concerned. In contrast, I would argue that the distinction between the tribal affiliation and self-ascription to a civic community remained critical. To make my point, I will compare the Batavian evidence with that available for the Ubii, Cugerni, Treveri and Tungri.

In the territories of the Ubii and Cugerni, the establishment of Roman colonies in AD 50 and AD 98/99 led not just to an enormous boost for the process of urbanisation, but also – and more importantly – to the social marginalisation of the peregrine sections of the original tribal population, ultimately resulting in their complete disappearance from the epigraphic record.⁸⁹ Thus for the Ubii – with the exception of five *Germani corporis custodes* of the Julio-Claudian bodyguard, all with peregrine status – only one woman and four men, all of them peregrine *equites* from the auxilia, are known (table 2). The woman, of peregrine stock, is known from the funerary monument which her husband had erected close to the Roman road just outside the legionary fort at Neuss. The man himself, a Roman citizen inscribed in the Galerian tribe, must have been garrisoned at the local *castra*. Since he bears no cognomen, the

⁸⁷ B 31, B 41, B 46, B 47.

⁸⁸ While the use of *domo* followed by the name of a town was widespread, the combination of *natione* with a place name is rare. For examples, cf. ESA 211: *natione Ulp(ia) Novi{o}magi Batav(u)s*; CIL III 1214 = Krier 1981, no. 55: *domo Augus(ta) Treve(rorum)*; CIL VI 3311 = ESA 728: *nat(ione) Cl(audia) Ara*; CIL VI 36325: tombstone for M.

Sennius M.f. Verus *nat(ione) Agrippinensis* (erected by C. Valerius Messor *nat(ione) Frisiaus*; cf. CIL VI 36324).

⁸⁹ For the treatment of the Ubii after the foundation of the Roman colony, Haensch 1999, 649 f.; Eck 2004, 152 ff. For the Cugerni, Galsterer 1999, 261 ff. esp. 265 f.; for the foundation date of CVT, *ibid.* and the extensive discussion in Geyer 1999, 134–141, esp. 140.

	Find spot	Name	Origin	Unit	Reference
1	Rome	Bassus	<i>nat(ione) Veius (=Ubius?)</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 4337 = Bellen B 8
2	Rome	Macer	<i>natione Vein (=Ubius?)</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 4339 = Bellen A3
3	Rome	---	<i>nation(e) U[b]ius</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 8805 = Bellen A19
4	Rome	Postumus	<i>nat(ione) Ubius</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 8809 = Bellen A10
5	Rome	Fannius	<i>nation(e) Ubius</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>AE</i> 1952, 145 = Bellen A12
6	Moesia inferior	Primus Marci f.	<i>Ubius</i>	<i>Ala Asturum</i>	<i>RGZM</i> 8
7	Châlon-sur-Saône	Albanus Excingi f.	<i>natione Ubius</i>	<i>Ala Asturum</i>	<i>CIL</i> XIII 2613
8	Mainz-Weisenau	Fronto Dregeni f.	<i>natione Ubius</i>	<i>Ala Indiana</i>	<i>AE</i> 1929, 130
9	Cercovika (BG)	Blandus Sing(i)ber(t)i f.	<i>nat(ione) U[b]ius</i>	<i>Ala Bosporanorum</i>	<i>AE</i> 1925, 70
10	Neuss	Louba Gastinasi f.	<i>Ubia</i>	-	<i>CIL</i> XIII 8565

Table 2. Inscriptions mentioning Ubii, with the exception of one woman (no. 10) most likely married to a legionary soldier, all of them *Germani corporis custodes* or peregrine horsemen from the auxilia. All date from the 1st century AD.

inscription can not be much later than the early 40s AD and thus predates the foundation of the colony. The soldier's tribe, together with the monument's early dating, points to an origin from Northern Italy. The couple would then be a fine example of the process of intermarriage between first generation settlers from the Mediterranean and local Ubian women.⁹⁰ As for the four horsemen, all completed their term of service within the 1st century. According to the military diploma issued to him in AD 99, one of them was conscripted as late as AD 74, proving that the Ubian tribal affiliation remained in use for a while after the colony's foundation, at least in the official record-keeping of the Roman army. As demonstrated by the early 2nd-century example of M. Ulpius Victor, a veteran of the *equites singulares* from Rome, those Ubii who acquired Roman citizenship and were thus able to associate themselves with the new colonial town, did so eagerly.⁹¹

Although the evidence for the Cugerni is much sparser, a largely similar development may be seen here. Actually, we have only one inscription in which someone claims Cugernian origin (table 3). The inscribed monument, a funerary stele for a peregrine horseman from the auxilia, is typologically dated to the mid-1st century, thus clearly before the foundation of the Colonia Vlpia Traiana that was to replace the *civitas Cugernorum*.⁹² Apart from the Cugerni, the Baetasii are another tribal group conventionally located within the territory that was later controlled by Trajan's colony.⁹³ Although their exact status is uncertain, they were at least used for military recruitment: during the Batavian revolt, they supported Claudius Labeo with an irregular unit of young men, and a regular Cohors Baetasiarum is epigraphically

⁹⁰ The fort at Neuss was occupied by Legio XX under Tiberius and Legio XVI under Claudius. A veteran from Legio XX, originating from Veleia and inscribed in the Galerian tribe, settled in the urban centre of the colony itself. He may be another example of this phenomenon: *CIL* XIII 8286 = *RSK* 223.

⁹¹ *CIL* VI 3311 = *ESA* 728. Victor may have been conscripted as a Ubian, won Roman citizenship when selected for the imperial guard and ended up being assigned an origin from the colony at his death. This background perhaps explains the hybrid expression used to denote

his origin; cf. note 88 above and Eck 2004, 160. Cf. also Tacitus, *Germ.* 28 on the Ubii who 'preferred to be called Agrippinenses after the name of their foundress (Agrip-pina)': *libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui vocentur*.

⁹² *CIL* III 9727 (Trilj-Gardun, HR); Rinaldo Tufi 1971, no. 10 and fig. 3.

⁹³ They are usually discussed in close association with the Sunuci – who, in contrast, are unattested in the epigraphy – and are located between the rivers Meuse and Niers. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 66; *CIL* XIII, p. 598 f.; Galsterer 1999, 253 f.

	Find spot	Name	Origin	Unit	Reference
1	Rome	Phoebus	<i>nat(ione) Baetesius</i>	<i>Germani corporis custodes</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 8808 = Bellen A21
2	Rome	M. Arrad(ius) Priscus	<i>Traianenses Baetasius</i>	<i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 31139 = <i>ESA</i> 3
3	Rome	M. Ulp(ius) Optatus	<i>Traianensis Baetasius</i>	<i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 31139 = <i>ESA</i> 3
4	Rome	C. Iul(ius) Crescens	<i>Traianensis Baetasius</i>	<i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI 31139 = <i>ESA</i> 3
5	Trilj-Gardun (HR)	Melvadius	<i>domo Cugernus</i>	<i>Ala Claudia Nova</i>	<i>CIL</i> III 9727
6	Mainz	Annauso Sedavonis f.	<i>cives Baetasius</i>	<i>Ala II Flavia</i>	<i>CIL</i> XIII 7025

Table 3. Inscriptions mentioning Cugerni or Baetasi, all dating from the 1st or early 2nd century.

known from AD 103 onwards.⁹⁴ We know of five *cives Baetasi*, all of them horsemen (table 3). Two are known from their 1st-century tombstones,⁹⁵ while the names of the other three have been preserved on a large votive altar from the headquarters of the imperial horse guard in Rome. The altar was a collective dedication by 48 *equites singulares Augusti* in commemoration of their honourable discharge in AD 132. While the names of those responsible for the dedication were listed individually on the side panels,⁹⁶ four also mentioned their origin, three of which read as *Traianensis Baetasius*. With the foundation of the Colonia Vlpia Traiana in AD 98/99, the territory of the Baetasi had apparently been allocated to the newly established veteran colony.⁹⁷ As the consular dates on the top of the *laterculi* indicate, the Baetasi were placed on the rolls in AD 104, i.e. a few years after the colony had been established, when building activity in the new town was in full swing. One of the Baetasi – together with 37 of his comrades! – bore the praenomen and gentilicium of Trajan, showing that this emperor had granted him Roman citizenship on admission to the imperial horse guard.⁹⁸ Against this background, it is easy to understand that he and his fellow tribesmen felt a kind of dual identity: having been born as Baetasi and enrolled as such in the auxilia, they received Roman citizenship upon transfer to the emperor's guard and finally completed their military service to become full citizens of the Colonia Vlpia Traiana, the town founded by the emperor to whom they owed their citizenship. The next generation of Baetasi either no longer felt this problem of loyalty or, from the subordinate position attributed to them, judged it more advantageous to mask their 'true' origin and to publicly declare themselves *cives Traianenses*, thereby depriving us of any prospect of tracing their origin.

So unless we have been misled by the peculiar characteristics of the epigraphic evidence, in the case of both the Ubii and the Cugerni (as well as the Baetasi), the old exclusive tribal identity of the 1st century quickly made way for an inclusive civic identity centred upon on the new colonial town. This is exactly what we would expect, given the social implications of large-scale colonisation by a socially privileged group. The question then remains as to what form this development took in other districts that did not undergo such forms of colonisation and veteran settlement. Here the comparison with the Treveran and Tungrian material, which reveals two different trajectories, may be instructive.

⁹⁴ Alföldy 1968, 77 and 84.

⁹⁵ *CIL* VI 8806 = Bellen A 21: *nat(ione) Baetesius* (Neronian); *CIL* XIII 7025 (Mainz) = Boppert 1992, no. 34: *cives Betasiu[s]* (Flavian).

⁹⁶ *CIL* VI 31140 = *ESA* 3.

⁹⁷ Galsterer 1999, 254, 266; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 318 f.; for the Roman character of the colony, i.e. with veteran settlement, Galsterer 1999, 251; Vittinghoff 1994, 85, 104.

⁹⁸ Whether the other two, named M. Arrad(ius) Priscus and C. Iul(ius) Crescens, already had citizenship when they joined the army, remains an open question. For the continued debate on the citizenship of the imperial horse guard, see Stylow 1994, with critical remarks by Raepsaet-Charlier 2001, 432 f.

Specification of origin	I A	I B	II	IIB / IIIA	III	total
<i>natione Trever</i>	5 (0)		1 (1)		1 (1)	7 (2)
<i>domo Trever</i>	1 (1)	1 (0)				2 (1)
<i>domi Trever</i>			1 (1)			1 (1)
<i>Trever</i>	3 (1)	9 (5)	8 (7)	7 (7)		27 (20)
<i>civis Trever</i>		3 (2)	7 (7)	11 (11)	4 (4)	25 (24)
<i>domo Augusta Treverorum</i>			1 (1)			1 (1)
total	9 (2)	13 (7)	18 (17)	18 (18)	5 (5)	63 (49)

Table 4. Specification of origin in inscriptions by Treveran individuals between the first half of the 1st and the 3rd century AD. The number of people who possessed Roman citizenship is given in brackets (data from Krier 1981; his nos 9, 17, 27, 28, 33, 52 and 62, for which the origin has not – or with not enough detail – been preserved, have not been included in this table).

The evidence available for the Treveri (table 4) reveals a trend which in many respects is similar to that described for the Ubii and Cugerni, but with the important difference that – unlike the latter tribes – the Treveri were not driven from their territory and marginalised, but remained centre stage. While the near absence of references to the *caput civitatis* may be difficult to explain,⁹⁹ the high frequency of the formula with *civis* suggests that the Treveri evolved into a flourishing civic community as quickly as did the colonial towns on the Rhine.¹⁰⁰

In this respect, the Treveri show a marked difference from the Batavi. It is not simply that the term *civis* appeared late (not until the 3rd century) in the inscriptions of the Batavi (cf. table 1) and remained rare (only featuring twice) whereas the formula *natione* continued to be used frequently, there are also distinct differences with regard to geographical distribution and the ratio of civilians to military men. About three quarters of the inscriptions erected for and by Treveri stem from the ‘civilised’ provinces of the empire’s interior (fig. 9). Not surprisingly, many of the people involved had a civilian background. With nearly equal numbers of inscriptions for Treveri and Batavi, such sharp contrasts are unlikely to have been determined by chance. Instead, they support the idea that the high number of military personnel in the Batavian sample, as well as their much stronger identification with the ethnic group than with the civic community, reflects historical reality.

Most Batavians whom we happen to know of are soldiers, with auxiliaries and troopers from the imperial horse guard accounting for more than 75 % of the inscriptions. Due to the practice of ethnic recruitment, auxiliary soldiers tended to retain their tribal affiliation much longer than their legionary counterparts, a tendency that is perhaps corroborated by the Roman army system of recording the soldiers’ homes.¹⁰¹ Instructive for the distinct mental maps of auxiliaries and legionaries are the 13 inscriptions of 1st-century legionary soldiers whom we know were recruited from Gaul. While they all, much like their Italian colleagues, refer to an urban centre to indicate their provenance,¹⁰² their peregrine

⁹⁹ It features only once (cf. note 88 above); perhaps the name Augusta Treverorum offered too few options for abbreviation (cf. note 85)?

¹⁰⁰ I consider the simple ethnicum *Trever* comparable to the simple *Agrippinensis* or *Traianensis*, and in both cases am inclined to understand a preceding *civis* rather than *natione*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. notes 27 and 29 above.

¹⁰² Syme 1938, esp. 186, note 8; Forni 1953, 181 f.; idem 1974, 370: Lugdunum (three men), Augustonemetum (three), Augustodunum (two), Autricum (two), Burdigala (two) and Andematunnum (one).

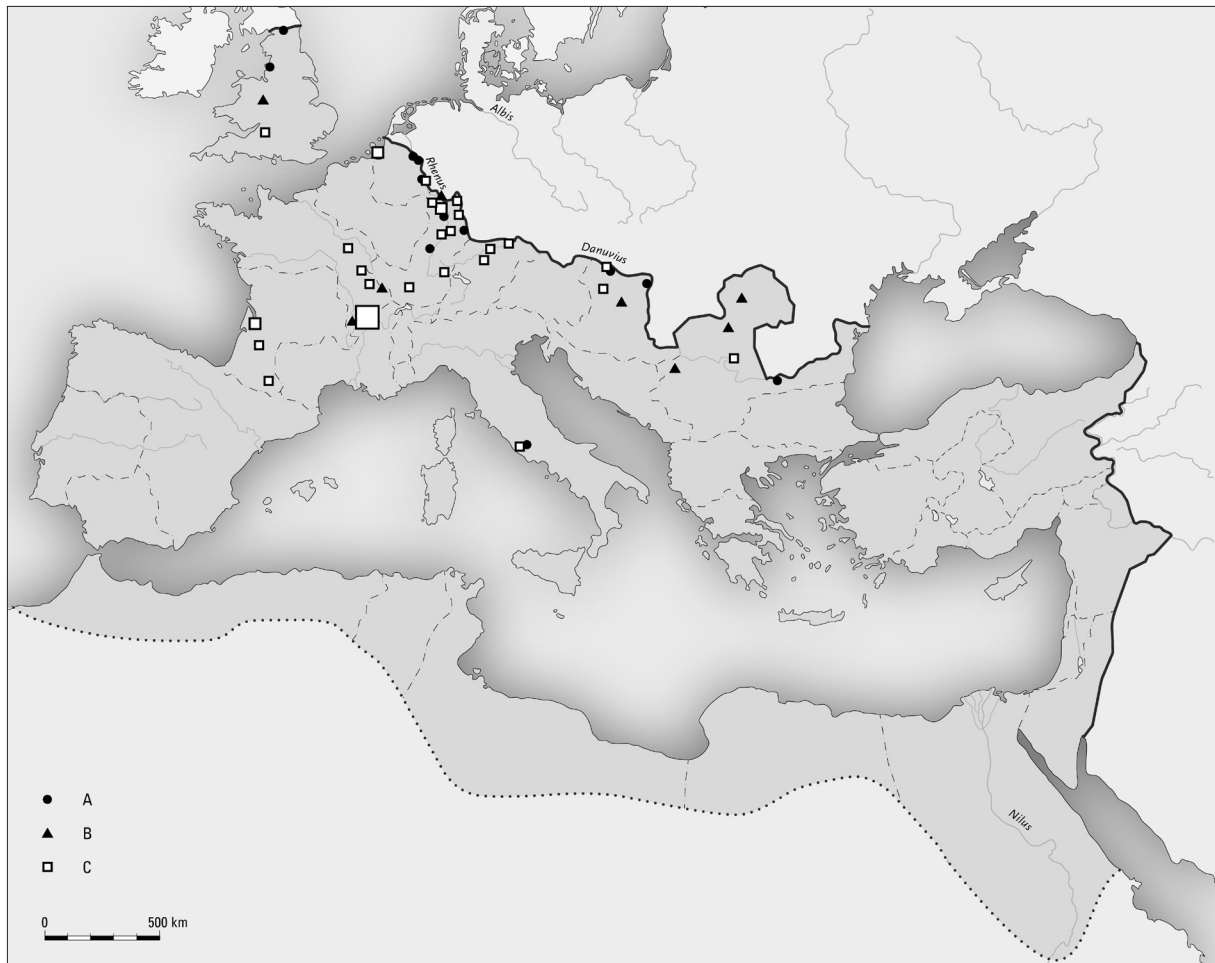


Fig. 9. Distribution of inscriptions including Roman military diplomas which explicitly mention individuals of Treveran descent (data after Krier 1981 with one addition: Vindolanda).

A active auxiliary or legionary soldier; B veteran soldier; C civilian (small symbol: 1-2 individuals; medium size symbol: 3-4 individuals; large symbol: 5 or more individuals).

fellow countrymen from the auxilia also retained their tribal affiliation (Haeduus, Arvernus, Lingo).¹⁰³ Against this background, the significant difference between the Treveran and Batavian evidence may be primarily explained by the exceptionally heavy recruitment for the auxilia among the Batavi and the disproportionately high representation of auxiliary soldiers in the available epigraphic evidence. What is most striking then is that despite their *civitas* having been promoted to the rank of *municipium* in the early 2nd century, and despite the fact that most Batavian auxiliaries had Roman citizenship from the 2nd century on, they continued to express their roots in terms of tribal affiliation. If a certain reluctance to switch to self-ascription in civic terms may have been widely shared by auxiliaries from different tribes, the striking unresponsiveness of Batavians demands an explanation. Since the label 'Batavian' became almost synonymous in army circles with military virtues such as 'manliness', 'bravery', and 'martiality',

¹⁰³ As Ronald Syme noted (1938, 189), among the towns represented are a Roman colony, three tribal capitals of *civitates* which according to Pliny (*NH* IV 106) were federated (*foederatae*) i.e. Aedui, Carnutes and Lingones,

whereas the *civitates* of the remaining three were free (*liberae*). Most of the legionary soldiers seem to have been granted Roman citizenship upon enrolment.

	Find spot	Name	Origin		Unit	Reference
1	Ovilava/Wels (A)	Chartius Pagudani (f.)	<i>natione Tunger</i>	<i>eques sing(u)l(aris)</i>	Ala Augusta	AE 1968, 412; CSIR III.3, 49
2	Rome	M. Ulpius Felix	<i>natione Tunger</i>	<i>mirmillo</i>	-	CIL VI 33977
3	Rome	[---]inus	<i>Tung(er)</i>		Cohors Pr	CIL VI 32623
4	Neuss	Oclatius Carvi f.	<i>Tunger</i>	<i>signif(er)</i>	Ala Afrorum	AE 1926, 67
5	Semriach (A)	Host(ilius)	<i>Tunger</i>	father of soldier from Coh VII Pr	-	CIL III 5450
6	Budapest	Ti. Claudiu[s L]aedi f. A[---]ger	<i>[Tun]ger</i>	<i>e[q(ues)]</i>	?	CIL III 15163 = RHP 128
7	Guljanci (BG)	Sulpicius Massa		<i>veteranus</i>	Ala Hispanorum	CIL III 12361
8	Adamklissi	[---] f.	<i>Tun(ger)</i>			CIL III 14214, fragm. V, l. 3
9	Adamklissi		<i>Tung(er)</i>			<i>ibid.</i> , l. 12
10	Adamklissi		<i>Tung(er)</i>			<i>ibid.</i> , l. 13
11	Mainz (Zahlbach)	Freioverus Veransati f.	<i>cives Tung(er)</i>	<i>eq(ues)</i>	Cohors I Asturum	CIL XIII 7036

Table 5. Inscriptions mentioning Tungri. Based on data in Nouwen 1997, 156 f.

Batavian *auxilarii* probably had good reasons for preferring to parade themselves as ‘Batavian’ rather than as ‘*civis Noviomagensis*’.¹⁰⁴

Finally, the Tungri more or less follow the example of the Batavi (table 5). With four units of infantry and one of cavalry raised from their midst, they number among the small group of tribes that were exploited primarily for their manpower: with only two exceptions, all Tungrians attested to in the inscriptions served in the army.¹⁰⁵ Although both the Batavian and Tungrian communities were granted municipal rights, they never achieved the same degree of urbanisation as the Roman colonies of the Agrippinenses and Traianenses, nor that of the Latin colony of the Treveri. In other words, if municipalisation and enfranchisement normally contributed to the dissolution of traditional ethnic bonds, insofar as the epigraphic evidence can tell us, this was not the case with the Batavi and Tungri.¹⁰⁶

7 POWER, TRADITION AND ORIGIN MYTHS

An important aspect of ethnicity is a shared belief in a common origin. If tribal communities in the frontier of the Roman Northwest experienced different forms of intervention, causing some to retain a strong tribal affiliation and others to adopt a new civic identity, a final question that I want to discuss here is how these different trajectories affected origin myths. Did they continue in the way they had

¹⁰⁴ The three Batavians from the Praetorian Guard (see above, note 86) are the exceptions.

¹⁰⁵ The father of a soldier from the Cohors VII praetoria (CIL III 5450), and a former *murmillo* (CIL VI 33977) are the exceptions. Much like the Batavi (and quite unlike the Treveri), Tungrians are only found in the frontier provinces along the Rhine and Danube as well as in

Rome. For further discussion, cf. Nouwen 1997, 157–163, 261–265, 298 f.

¹⁰⁶ The only indication that Batavi and Tungri to a certain extent underwent a similar transition from self-ascription to an ethnic group to self-definition in civic terms is the isolated use of self-designations such as *Batavus* or *Tunger*, omitting the preceding formula *natione*.

before, or were they adapted in some way or replaced by new stories? In other words, was the creation of a new identity group simply a matter of changing names¹⁰⁷ or did it go hand in hand with a redefinition of existing origin myths? From a theoretical point of view, the latter seems much more probable, but the evidence is flimsy and leaves much open to debate. We will first discuss the Ubii, then the Traianenses and finally the Batavi.

Two passages in Suetonius' biography of Vitellius referring to a Mars sanctuary at Cologne provide some leads for the Ubii. First, after Vitellius was proclaimed emperor by the Cologne garrison, he was carried around, according to Suetonius, 'holding the unsheathed sword of the Deified Julius, which someone had taken from a shrine of Mars and had handed him during the first congratulations'.¹⁰⁸ Second, on inspection of the battlefield where his adversary Otho had committed suicide, Vitellius 'declared that he [Otho] deserved such a mausoleum, and sent the dagger with which his rival had killed himself to the colony of Agrippina, in order to be dedicated to Mars'.¹⁰⁹ In addition to these two references, there is a synodal charter from Cologne dating from AD 887 in which mention is made of a *forum Iulii*.¹¹⁰ Although we don't know whether these individual messages refer to one and the same sanctuary, what we do know about the representation of the Julian ideology of descent suggests that this would certainly fit the model. It immediately calls to mind the Mars Ultor sanctuary on the Forum of Augustus in Rome, where the Julian house used an important sculptural programme to trace back its descent, via the Trojan hero Aeneas and the wolf twins Romulus and Remus, to Venus and Mars.¹¹¹ Local archaeologists have tried to identify the sanctuary with partly excavated impressive stone foundations located at one of the central *insulae* south of the *decumanus maximus* and west of the walled circuit that ran along the Rhine front, but the problem is far from being settled.¹¹²

If we accept, as the Julian descent ideology suggests we should, that the Mars sanctuary and the *forum Iulii* were interconnected, when could this complex have been built? Suetonius of course only provides a *terminus ante quem* of AD 69. Since the earliest contacts between the Ubii and the Julian house date as far back as Agrippa or even Caesar,¹¹³ and since the bonds between these two parties were renewed time and again by successive representatives of the imperial family such as Augustus, Germanicus and Caligula, we may in theory assume any date between the earliest settling of the Ubii during one of Agrippa's governorships and the turmoil of the Batavian revolt in AD 69. According to Galsterer, a cult for Mars Ultor, the avenger of Caesar's assassins, would fit better in the Augustan era than in the second half of the 1st century.¹¹⁴ While the reign of Augustus certainly provides a good historical context from the Roman point of view, it probably does so less from the Ubian. We are unlikely to see dramatic changes in the religious traditions of the Ubii as long as the Ubian tribal identity group continued to exist. Since the sparse evidence we have points to Hercules rather than Mars as the principal male god of the Ubian pantheon,¹¹⁵ I would argue that the founding of the colony in AD 50 provides a context which better

¹⁰⁷ Cf. note 91 above.

¹⁰⁸ Suet., *Vit.* 8: *strictum Divi Iuli gladium tenens detractum delubro Martis atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi a quodam.*

¹⁰⁹ Suet., *Vit.* 10: *dignum eo mausoleo ait, pugionemque, quo is se occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam misit Marti dedicandum.*

¹¹⁰ Hellenkemper 1972/73, 104, with note 10.

¹¹¹ Zanker 1988, fig. 149; Derks 1998, 30 ff.

¹¹² Hellenkemper 1972/73; Seiler 1992, esp. 50 f. In his recent evaluation of the architectural remains, Irmeler (2004) identifies the site with the *ara Ubiorum*. Since the remnant architectural blocks cannot be dated before the

Flavian period, it remains as yet unclear what evidence there is for the earliest phase of the *ara*, a point which is also neglected by Eck (2004, 88 f.). Given the fact that the nearby town gate on the *decumanus maximus* was designated *porta Martis* since at least as early as the first half of the 11th century, the temple's location, if its identification with the recently excavated remains is rejected, can not be far away.

¹¹³ Cf. Speidel 1994b, 12 f.; Roymans 2004, 56 ff.

¹¹⁴ Galsterer 1990, 124; similarly, Haensch 1999, 643.

¹¹⁵ As we do not have a single inscription to Mars from the territory of the Ubii as opposed to several for Hercules,

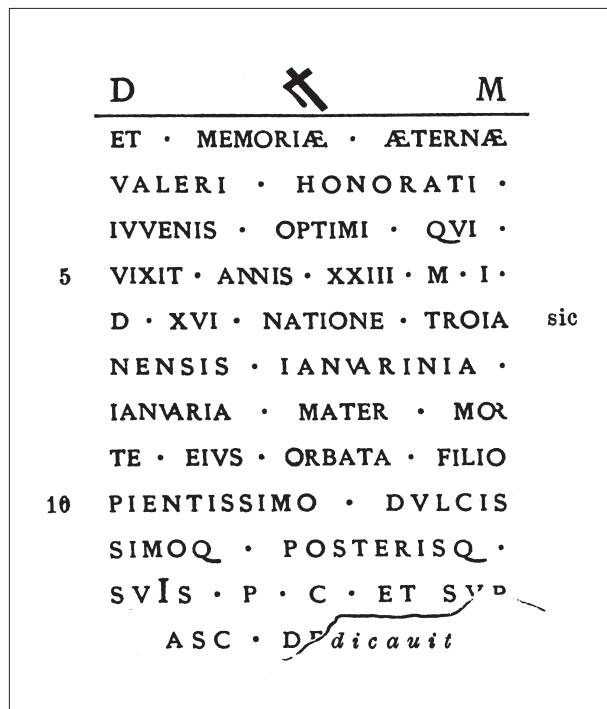


Fig. 10. Funerary monument from Lyon put up by the deceased's mother in commemoration of her beloved son Valerius Honoratus, who is said to have been of Trojan descent (*natione Troianensis*).

D(is) M(anibus) / et memoriae aeternae / Valeri Honorati, / iuvenis optimi, qui / vixit annis XXIII m(ense) I / d(iebus) XVI, natione Troia/nensis. Ianuarinia / Ianuaria, mater, mor/ te eius orbata, filio / pientissimo dul/cissimoq(ue) posterisq(ue) / suis p(onendum) c(uravit) et sub / asc(ia) de[dicavit] (CIL XIII 2034; now lost).

accounts for the introduction of new public cults and the consecration of new sanctuaries. As the late republican colonial charter of the Spanish town of Urso makes clear, yearly decisions as to which cults should be public had to be taken by the colony's *duoviri* within ten days of their nomination.¹¹⁶ This would also have been true for the first couple nominated immediately after the colony's foundation. Promised

within days after the initial foundation act, the actual completion of a new temple could have taken place in the decades that followed.

So how and when did 'Caesar's' sword get to Cologne?¹¹⁷ Again, there are many options open to us and we can only guess. Is it logical to think that it happened in the early days of the Oppidum Ubiorum, with Agrippa as intermediary? Possibly, but this would have been a great honour for a community that had not yet proven exceptional bonds of loyalty. Could the foundation of the Ara Ubiorum have been a fitting occasion? Perhaps, but although the altar was in Ubian territory, its focus was far broader, and it was not devoted to the cult of Mars, but to that of Rome and Augustus. In my view, the most probable occasion is again the foundation of the colony itself. In the new sanctuary of Mars, probably on or adjacent to the *forum Iulii*, the weapon would have been an important symbol. The cultural biography of the sword that had played such a fundamental role in the history of the Julian family and the empire as a whole, whether 'real' or 'fictive', made it an important and valued object that could invest the new sanctuary with a lived history and a mythical past, linking the colony with the legends of Troy, through the Julian family.¹¹⁸ While that would have significantly enhanced the colony's reputation and prestige as well as its Roman identity, the new sanctuary with its imported *sacrum* could at the same time embody

the Gallic model of a local male god who became associated or identified with Mars (cf. Derks 1998, 94 ff) seems less probable here. I do concede, however, that none of the Hercules inscriptions, mostly dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, provide conclusive evidence, as they may equally result from adoption of the cult by the military. On the Lower Rhine Hercules cult, see Roymans this volume.

¹¹⁶ Crawford 1996, 393 ff.; Scheid 1999, 389 ff.

¹¹⁷ The question of whether this sword 'really' did once

belong to Caesar (or his murderers?) is irrelevant here in my view. For a discussion of the tensions between history and myth in Roman memory, cf. Timpe 1996.

¹¹⁸ Some of the most beautiful sculptural representations of Aeneas' flight from Troy are known from Cologne itself (Noelke 1976). They once belonged to rich funerary monuments that lined the main streets leading from the town. They show how the Trojan legend was appropriated by local inhabitants for self-representations on their private monuments.

the long-established bonds of friendship between the Ubii and the Julian house, which had begun with the former owner of the object. A member of the imperial family probably acted as an intermediary in bringing 'Caesar's' sword to its new location, perhaps the emperor Claudius, or Agrippina herself, scion of the *gens Iulia*, granddaughter of the founding father of the Oppidum Ubiorum, the town where she was born, and foundress of the colony.¹¹⁹ In this way, the new sanctuary, the imported *sacrum* and the refashioning of the mythical past all contributed to forge a new communal identity for the Agrippinenses, in which both foreign settlers and former Ubii could feel at home.

We have even fewer clues when it comes to the origin myths of the new identity group of Traianenses. But in general terms, since any Roman colony was in fact simply a part of Rome abroad, it seems no more than logical that the colony at Xanten, like all others, traced its origins back to those of Rome itself, and eventually to Aeneas and Troy. Two pieces of evidence may be adduced to corroborate this hypothesis. First, according to a late medieval story whose nucleus seems to go back as far as the 7th century AD, Xanten was founded by Priamus, the grandson of Troy's famous king, hence its other name of Little Troy.¹²⁰ Whereas this story could be simply explained away as a medieval invention that played on the similarity between the two place names, the same cannot be said of the second piece of evidence which firmly dates to the Roman period. In a funeral inscription from Lyon, the deceased is erroneously said to have been *natione Troianensis*, 'of Trojan descent', instead of the more correct *natione Traianensis* (fig. 10).¹²¹ Although the evidence in itself may not be decisive, the misspelling is certainly revealing of the omnipresence of the Trojan origin myth in the early 3rd century.

Finally, let me devote a few words to the Batavi, Cananefates and Tungri. In contrast to the *civitates* of the Ubii and Cugerni, no Roman colony was established on their territories. The three *civitates* were granted municipal rights in the last years of the 1st century or during the 2nd century, but unlike the foundation of Roman colonies, such legal promotions did not entail a change of name as we have seen for the Ubii and Cugerni. Even though it wouldn't have been too difficult to create new self-ascriptive labels derived from municipal titles like Municipium Ulpium Batavorum or Municipium Aelium Cananefatum, this did not happen.¹²² Although the sample of inscriptions at our disposal is small and therefore certainly not representative in all respects,¹²³ the main reason for this difference must have been the absence of a sudden, massive influx of 'foreign' veterans typical of Roman colonies.¹²⁴ As the *Traditionskern* of these communities remained more or less intact,¹²⁵ there was no need for change in this sense. Moreover, a name like Colonia Augusta Treverorum, which lacked distinctive titles, indeed left few other possibilities for designating origin than the simple *Trever(i)*.

¹¹⁹ Iulia Agrippina was born in the gens Iulia on 6 November AD 15 or 16 in the army camp near Cologne while her father Germanicus was campaigning in Germany. As the daughter of Agrippa's daughter, she was called after both her grandfather and her mother, Vipsania Agrippina (Agrippina Maior). After marrying Emperor Claudius in AD 49, she persuaded her husband to promote her birthplace to the same rank as his own. Kienast 1996, 94; Haensch 1999, 649.

¹²⁰ Borgolte 2001, 192, 195, and esp. 197, Abb. 207. In 1047, Emperor Heinrich III signed a deed of gift with *Actum Troiae quod et Sanctum dicitur*.

¹²¹ CIL XIII 2034.

¹²² Batavi never became *Ulpenses*, and Cananefates never *Aelienses*. An exception is the inscription on a sarcophagus from Brigetio in Pannonia (CIL III 4279), in which

the army doctor from the Legio I Adiutrix designates his wife's origin as *domu Foro hadriensi provincia Germania inferiori*.

¹²³ We may question, for instance, whether the imperial epithets of the granting emperor were omitted for reasons of space from inscriptions recording the municipal status for the Batavi and Tungri (cf. AE 1958, 38; 2001, 1488 and 1499; 1994, 1279; also note 85 above). Why should we not assume that the full official title of the Batavian *municipium* was, say, Municipium Ulpium Batavorum?

¹²⁴ Contra Haalebos 2000, 38, who assumed organised veteran settlement at Nijmegen.

¹²⁵ For a summary of the recent discussion on the concept of *Traditionskern*, first coined by Reinhard Wenskus, see Roymans 2004, 3 and 257–259; also introduction this volume.

As far as the representation of their roots in the mythical past is concerned, it is perhaps also understandable against the above-sketched background that a dramatic reorganisation of the cult did not occur here as it did in Cologne. This is not to say that there were no changes (as I have demonstrated elsewhere, the public cults of these communities were thoroughly Romanised),¹²⁶ but a traditional core was retained. The most important aspect was perhaps that of continuity of place, which rendered unnecessary imports such as the *sacrum* of the Mars sanctuary at Cologne.

8 CONCLUSIONS

1. In the epigraphic record of the Roman empire, forms of personal affiliation differed according to time, space and context. Whereas ethnic or tribal affiliations were common throughout the Lower Rhine frontier during the conquest and pacification of the early Imperial period, under the Pax Romana these were generally replaced by formulae using geographical provenance or political-administrative inscription in a certain *civitas*; by contrast, after the collapse of the *limes* and the civic system of administration, tribal or ethnic identity once again became important in the later Empire.
2. In contrast to the general development described above, self-ascription in civic terms remained a rare phenomenon among the Batavians even in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. This may be due to the strong military imprint of Batavian society, as is evident from the epigraphic sources in which soldiers from the auxilia or the imperial body guard make up about 75 % of all known inscriptions erected by or for Batavians. If auxiliarii generally retained a tribal identity into the 2nd and 3rd centuries, partly as a result of the bureaucratic rules that governed the recording of soldiers' homes in Roman army files, the typical outlook of Batavian society may even have reinforced this tendency among the Batavians. Here, the label 'Batavian' may have become synonymous with typical military virtues such as 'manliness', 'bravery', and 'martiality', and as these became an important source of pride, Batavian auxiliarii preferred to buck the trend and present themselves as '*Batavus*' rather than '*civis Noviomagensis*'. The implication is that the social integration of the non-elite Batavian auxiliary soldiers was at best partial and cannot be called a success in all respects.¹²⁷
3. In the inscriptions of the Ubii and Baetasii, the disappearance of the exclusive tribal affiliation in favour of colonial self-definitions such as Agrippinenses or Traianenses signals the successful, rapid integration of the deduced veterans into a new inclusive identity group at the *civitas* level, which identified itself with members of the ruling imperial family. A decisive factor behind this success may have been the granting of *conubium* to the veterans and their sons, thereby favouring the practice of intermarriage. The foundation of the Roman colonies, with the expulsion, expropriation and legal exclusion of at least part of the old indigenous population, must have meant a sharp caesura in the history of the old tribal population. New origins will have been invented which linked up with the history of the imperial family and extended the 'mytho-history' of the new settlement far beyond the date of its actual foundation.
4. In contrast to the settlement of Roman colonies in the tribal areas of the Ubii and Cugerni, the simple promotion of the *civitas* of the Treveri to the status of a Latin colony and that of the Tungri and Batavi to the status of *municipium* did not bring about a massive influx of foreigners or a fundamental change in the towns' names, nor a radical change in existing origin myths. Whereas ethnic affiliations

¹²⁶ Derks 1998, 94 ff.

¹²⁷ Supposed high numbers of returning veterans (cf. Derks/Roymans 2006; Nicolay 2007) and – if the sparse epigraphic evidence is any indication – the dominance of endogamous

marriage (cf. B 28-29, B 65, and B 66-D 15) will have enhanced rather than offset this divergent development.

of the type *natione Trever* or *natione Tunger* were replaced among the Treveri and Tungri by *civis Trever/Tunger* or simply *Trever/Tunger*, the majority of the Batavi continued to use the tribal affiliation in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, even if the community had long been promoted to municipal status and the men concerned had Roman citizenship. An attractive explanation is that the fame of the tribal name of the Batavi and its associated qualities was so strong that these men preferred to promote themselves as *Batavi* – or perhaps as *natione Batavus Ulpia Noviomagus* or *Ulpia Noviomagi Batavus* – rather than as *Noviomagenses*.

5. The institutionalisation of tribal names in both the designation of army units conscripted among subjected tribes, and of administrative districts, towns and regions (*insula Batavorum*) contributed to a ready and – as far as we can tell from our limited sources – fairly ‘universal’ acceptance of Rome’s ethnic labels by its subjects. One of the firmest pieces of evidence for this impact is the remarkable correspondence between the ways in which soldiers’ homes were recorded in documents of the Roman army bureaucracy par excellence, i.e. Roman military diplomas, and in private inscriptions of individual soldiers and veterans.
6. Ethnic consciousness at the level of the individual was especially marked in the event of death in a foreign country. The funeral constituted an occasion when friends, relatives and fellow countrymen gathered to commemorate the deceased, explicitly referred to common roots, and sought consolation together for the loss of the beloved friend or relative who had died abroad. Ethnic group solidarity, on the other hand, is especially apparent in collective dedications to the patron gods of the home area, quite a few of which were made by ethnic enclaves within Roman army units. Such acts of worship were complementary to the army’s corporate religion and, apart from periods of social stress, had an integrative rather than divisive impact on the army’s corporate identity.
7. Despite the reception of former tribal groups within its global limits and the breaking up of traditional boundaries, it is perhaps the paradox of an expanding empire that individual subjects, rather than identifying as citizens of the broader world community they had become part of, continued to identify with their localised origin, albeit in political-administrative or geographical rather than ethnic terms. One notable exception are Roman senators and their off-spring.¹²⁸ Legally tied to the imperial capital at Rome and officially denied any origin other than Roman, they had to mask their personal ties with their home town for the sake of the ideology of a single united empire. Although such legal decisions reflect the emperor’s concern to preserve the ‘Roman’ identity of the empire, it is doubtful whether the Roman self-understanding of senators really did go as far as imperial ideology suggests, and that they in all circumstances neglected to follow their heart.¹²⁹ But this is perhaps another matter, one that lies beyond the scope of this contribution.

¹²⁸ According to Solin (1993, 31–32), Roman senators never made their origin explicit. Throughout the empire only three exceptions to this rule are known: *CIL* VIII 2752 (*Mantua*); *AE* 1954, 138 (*ex Cappadocia*); and possibly also the fragmentary inscription *CIL* II 2666, for which an

origo [*Mantu*]a) has been reconstructed; cf. also Alföldy 2005, 57, note 20.

¹²⁹ Kriekhaus 2001.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Amsterdam Archaeological Studies
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
Bellen	Bellen 1981
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CSIR	Corpus signorum Imperii Romani
ER	Byvanck 1935
ES	Epigraphische Studien
ESA	Speidel 1994a
HABES	Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae / Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine</i> , Paris 2001–
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Klein-Asien
IJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia ... repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963–1986
ILN	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise</i>
KJfV	<i>Kölner Jahrbuch zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte</i>
KJ	<i>Kölner Jahrbuch</i>
Mrozewicz	Mrozewicz 1999
ND	<i>Notitia dignitatum</i> , editio O. Seeck, Berlin 1876
PME	<i>Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum</i> (6 vols), Leuven 1976–2001
RGZM	Pferdehirt 2004
RHP	Lörincz 2001
RIB	Collingwood, R.G./R.P. Wright, 1965–1995: <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain</i> , Oxford/Gloucester
RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> , Budapest 1972–RMD
RMD	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i>
RSK	<i>Römische Steininschriften aus Köln</i>
Stuart	Stuart/Bogaers 2001
TV	Bowman/Thomas 1994–2003
Wierschowski	Wierschowski 2001
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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